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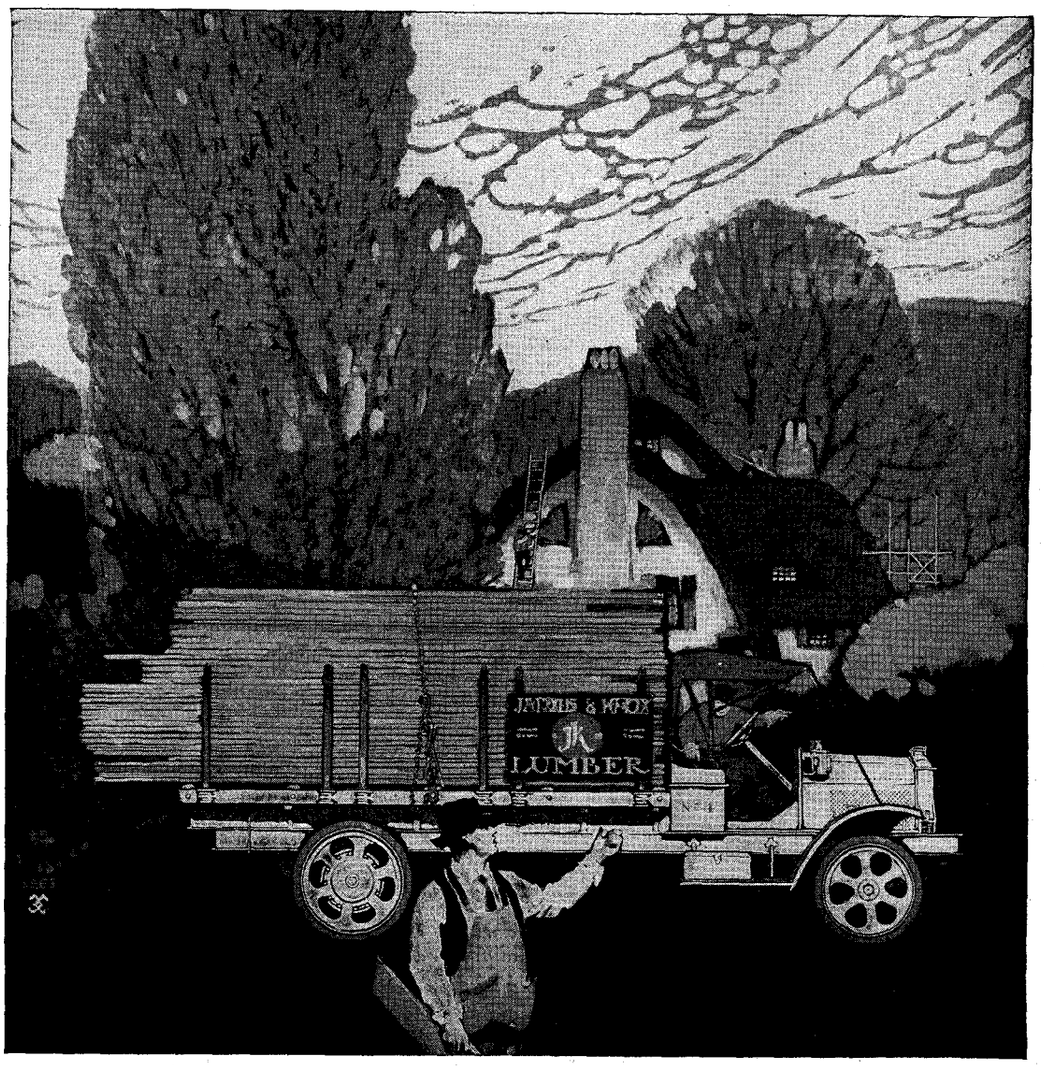

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The Outlook

JUNE 30, 1920

THE PRESIDENT AND THE DEMOCRATS

THE Democratic National Convention convened on June 28, at San Francisco. Unlike the Republican Convention, where there were many instructed delegates, the Democratic Convention will have few. Of these few instructed delegates a considerable proportion, strange to say, are designated for Herbert Hoover, an avowed Republican. There has evidently been pressure from the Administration to have as few instructed delegates as possible, and recent events, such as the President's statement in which he does not say that he is not a candidate, and the withdrawal of his son-in-law, ex-Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, as a candidate, might indicate that Mr. Wilson, believing that he controls enough delegates, wants to shape events either towards his own renomination or an impressive vindication of his policy at the hands of his party.

The "Literary Digest's" poll indicates Mr. McAdoo as having the largest number of votes, so far as the people are concerned. This is not surprising, for Mr. McAdoo is very popular with labor, because of his efforts for the railway employees while he was head of the Government railway service. This is offset somewhat by the present discount in the quotations on the Government securities issued during Mr. McAdoo's term of office. He is fifty-seven years old.

The President comes next in the poll.

If he and Mr. McAdoo are eliminated, Governor Cox, of Ohio, seems to occupy the strongest position, because, like Harding on the Republican side, he comes from a doubtful State and has an attractive personality; also because he has had three creditable terms as Governor of Ohio and perhaps because of his views concerning prohibition. Governor Cox is fifty years old. He is an Ohioan by birth. He made his way up from the bottom selling newspapers. Like the Republican candidate, he learned the printer's trade; and he finally became a member of the staff of the Cincinnati "Enquirer." Should he be nominated for President, the parallel with Senator Harding would be thus emphasized.

WHO WILL BE THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL PALMER has been supposed to be in some sense an Administration candidate simply because he occupies a Cabinet position; certainly he fought a gallant Administration fight in Georgia. Though a Quaker, Mr. Palmer has been prominent in carrying out vigorously the duties of his office, as he also did those of his office of Alien Property Custodian. But he has not endeared himself to the ranks of labor as much as has Mr. McAdoo. He is forty-eight years old.

Vice-President Marshall disavows any candidacy, but there is a significantly increasing movement in his favor. He is looked upon as representing the "old line" Democrats and has gained much in popular favor during the past two years. He is sixty-six years old and enjoys great popularity among men irrespective of party. His humor is well known; the other day he telegraphed this message to Calvin Coolidge, nominee for the Vice-Presidency on the Republican ticket: "You have my deep sympathy."

Ambassador Davis, of West Virginia, who is now at London, would also represent those "old line" Democrats. Of all the names suggested, his is the one likely to appeal most to the "highbrow" sentiment. Unfortunately, he is not nationally known as much as he should be, despite the fact that he made one of the best Solicitors-General we have had. His name on the ticket, whether for first or second place, would add strength to it. He is forty-nine years old.

The other candidates (and it would seem as if there would be even more presented to the Democratic Convention than to the Republican) are Governor Edwards of New Jersey, Senators Owen of Oklahoma, Hitchcock of Nebraska, Glass of Virginia, Walsh of Massachusetts, Smith of Georgia, Underwood of Alabama, and Simmons of North Carolina; ex-Ambassador Gerard of New York, Secretary of Agriculture Meredith of Iowa, Speaker Champ Clark of Missouri, National Chairman Homer Cummings of Connecticut, and, last but not least, William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska.

It may be that among these latter men the "dark horse" will be found should there be a deadlock in the Convention.

CAMPAIGN AMENITIES BEGIN

IF Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, thought it particularly creditable on the part of the New York delegation at the Republican Convention to prevent the nomination of General Wood, he was within his rights in saying so. In the course of his statement, however, he not only defended the New York delegation, but aspersed General Wood's candidacy by saying, among other things:

> A motley group of stock gamblers, oil and mining promoters, munition makers, and other like persons seized upon so good a man as General Wood, and with reckless audacity started out to buy for him the Presidential nomination.

Dr. Butler, who has been a regular of the regulars, doubtless desires to promote party harmony and party success, but he has taken a strange way of going about it by attacking the motives of the supporters of the man who was plainly the choice of a plurality of the Republican voters of the country and of the Republican delegates. Inasmuch as this was not primarily an attack on General Wood, though it was a reflection upon him, but rather an attack upon his supporters, it was General Wood's duty as well as his natural instinct to reply, and reply he did vigorously. In replying he said that he would ignore what he called a "vicious and malicious falsehood" if it were directed to him alone, but he could not remain silent when his loyal friends and supporters were vilified. He defended Colonel Procter, Chairman of his Campaign Committee, as a man known throughout the country for his absolute integrity and honesty, and he likewise defended Colonel Procter's associates as progressive Americans, and the forces behind the nomination campaign as "hundreds of thousands of patriotic men and women in every walk of life." Attacking in turn Dr. Butler's action as an attempt to ingratiate himself with a certain element and to explain his own political weakness, General Wood concluded:

> It is a self-seeking, cowardly attack, made under the cloak of an alleged public service which was never intended or rendered. I regret to make a statement of this kind, but it is necessary in this instance to brand a faker and to denounce a lie.

Dr. Butler's rejoinder was an expression of sorrow that General Wood had lost his temper, a statement to the effect that the evidence on which he based his assertion was the allegations of the New York "World"—the most prominent of Democratic newspaper organs—and the conclusion that political post-mortems were futile.

A FRANK APOLOGY

BUT the matter has not rested there. A group of General Wood's supporters have written an open letter to Dr. Butler recalling the fact that the men who sup-

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ported General Wood were first inspired by him to prepare themselves for the war that was coming upon their country. They asked Dr. Butler if he had no conception of such a thing as righteous indignation at a base attack on one's friends. In contrast with General Wood's record they outlined the war record of Dr. Butler, saying that he had helped to organize a league to limit armaments as a protest against preparedness; that he publicly had said in December, 1914, after Belgium had been invaded and sacked, "When we are told in terms of most vivid eloquence that we must prepare for war, I ask, 'For what war and with whom?'" that in response to the urging of preparedness he had said that it was fortunate, when "pressure of a powerful and rather specious sort" was put upon the Government and an attempt was made to arouse feeling, that there was in the White House a man of President Wilson's firm convictions who would not be stampeded; that when men who had military training organized themselves, he had declared that "it would be just as important to organize for the prevention of earthquakes;" and that he had been decorated by the Kaiser in 1910, and in so far as was known he had not repudiated that decoration.

Two days later Dr. Butler telegraphed Colonel Procter that he was convinced that his words, spoken under the strain of the Convention, were both "unbecoming and unwarranted," and that he apologized to all who felt hurt by what he had said.

We record this exchange of uncomplimentary opinions, not because they have any bearing directly upon the issues now before the American people, but because they ought to serve as a warning to those who are about to engage in the debates of the campaign. When a man begins assailing the motives of his opponents, he lays his own motives open to attack and is likely to start something that he may find it very desirable but very difficult to stop.

ORGANIZING AN INTERNATIONAL COURT

ARTICLE XIV of the League of Nations provides for the formation of an International Court of Justice. The article is now in operation. Invitations were sent to eminent jurists to meet at The Hague to organize the Court. Among those invited was Elihu Root to represent America. He has arrived at The Hague and the first conference of the jurists has taken place. It was inaugurated by Léon Bourgeois, President of the Council of the League of Nations. M. Bourgeois referred to Mr. Root's presence as "a proof that the Old World and the New, notwithstanding passing difficulties, will not be separated by a lasting barrier. . . . The terrible lesson of the war," continued the speaker, "was necessary to make the peoples of the world understand that the basis of peace among nations did not lie in force." He declared that the proposed Court should be a really permanent body, not merely a court of arbitration, and that it would render decisions from which there would be no appeal. To this end, he added, it would be necessary to have a strong organization to carry out the decisions.

Article XIV was one of the least developed phases of the League. It might well have repeated the substance of Mr. Root's words in his instructions as Secretary of State to the American delegates to the Second Hague Conference (1907):

> It should be your effort to bring about . . . a development of the Hague tribunal into a permanent tribunal composed of judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupations, and who will devote their entire time to trial and decisions of international cases by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility.

Following this advice, the Hague Conference of 1907 established such a Court, but, being unable to agree on the appointment of judges, adjourned. On such agreement, however, the Court is ready to come immediately into being.

At the meeting the other day at The Hague the vexed question of the appointment of judges was the first to be discussed. Mr. Root suggested that one panel be chosen by the Assembly (the lower house of the League of Nations, in which all the Powers are represented), and a second by the Council of the League (the upper house, in which only the Great Powers have places). The judges would then be selected from the two panels. There would thus be a harmonizing of the positions of those who stand for adequate representation of the smaller Powers and those who realize the necessity of having a judge for each of the five Great Powers, the aim being to prevent the Court from being dominated by either the large or the small Powers.

BLOCKADING NEW YORK

FOOD that lies rotting at wharves feeds nobody. Lumber that is piled up in yards builds no houses. Shoes left in a railway car on a siding cover nobody's feet. Freight stations piled high with goods and docks filled with unshipped commodities furnish, therefore, one reason for the high cost of living.

During the past winter the railways of the country became jammed with freight. Week after week, goods accumulated in terminals and yards. This condition was aggravated by the so-called "outlaw" strike of switchmen and other railway employees. It became so serious that factories reduced their output of needed products because there was no way of getting them to market.

Under such circumstances the reasonable thing to do, it would seem, would be to redouble effort to get the food, the shoes, the building material, the clothing, the fuel, through to people who were paying high prices because these things were scarce.

At this time, when the freight jam was at its worst, the transportation machinery of New York City and its harbor, the greatest port in America, was deliberately put out of order. For some time the longshoremen who worked on the loading and unloading of coastwise steamships had been on strike, but had made no real headway. Then the truckmen's union was induced to strike in sympathy with the longshoremen. Other unions joined in the strike, with the result that the whole system of getting goods to and from the steamers was made unworkable.

Arbitration was urged upon the coastwise steamship companies; but the reply was that arbitration was impossible with a union that by striking had violated its agreement; for there had recently been an arbitral award which was accepted on both sides with the stipulation that it was to continue in force until September 30, 1920. What, it was asked, was the use of arbitrating a dispute with a body of men who do not keep their agreement?

The effect of this strike was of course to make the freight congestion far worse than ever. Goods customarily shipped by steamship were now sent by rail, and increased the railway freight jam. The consequent addition to the cost of commodities was enormous. Molasses, for which the sugar shortage has increased the demand, has to be shipped from New Orleans by rail instead of by steamer, at an added cost of $1.15 a barrel. Tin cannot be obtained in quantities needed for making tin cans; and for lack of tin cans there is danger of a shortage in canned goods, especially canned vegetables. It is reported that fifty per cent of the normal supply of rosin is cut off, as can easily be believed in view of the fact, for instance, that a coastwise steamer with two hundred barrels of rosin in her hold made seven trips before her cargo of rosin could be unloaded. So with a great many other kinds of merchandise.

THE OBJECT OF THE BLOCKADE

THE object of the strike is to unionize the whole transportation system of the port. A corporation engaged in the export of lumber, unwilling to engage union labor exclusively, was unable to secure any union truckmen to work for it; so it

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attempted to deliver its lumber by non-union labor. The unions thereupon threatened the steamship companies (which were not engaged in coastwise trade, but in foreign trade, and therefore had no strike at the time) with a strike if they accepted the goods transported by non-union labor. That meant that the truckmen's union undertook to dictate what goods should be exported and what not. The companies yielded and refused to accept the lumber. Thereupon injunction proceedings were instituted to prevent the steamship companies and the unions from conspiring to hold up commerce. In granting a preliminary injunction, Judge Fawcett, of the New York Supreme Court, said:

> This seems to me to be a combination to gain control over transportation and to blockade the channels of trade against all but union merchandise and against all concerns which do not make union contracts. Such a combination to exclude open-shop merchandise from the channels of trade and commerce and from the markets of the Nation is a conspiracy against public welfare, and deprives the public of their sovereign right of choice to purchase such goods as they want, because by artificial methods it keeps such goods out of the market.

Common carriers and their employees, as the Judge explained, "owe affirmative duty to the public," and they must serve the public without discrimination. There is no element of involuntary servitude in this, as Judge Fawcett's opinion clearly explains in the following language:

> The law cannot force any man to remain in the service of the public, but he has certain obligations when engaged in public service and is bound by public statutes as well as his employer.
>
> While it is indisputable that a man may enter any vocation that he chooses, yet if he sees fit to select a field indissolubly linked with the rights of the public, such as that of a common carrier, he must subserve his own rights to that of the public welfare, and must at all times stand ready and willing to assume all of the exacting duties which he knows are owed the public. When he enters the public service, he impliedly acquiesces in assuming all of these obligations. He must either get out of the transportation business or serve all persons alike.

In endeavoring to restore transportation in the city the Merchants' Association of New York has organized and put into operation a fleet of trucks. The Association emphatically denies that it is fighting the unions, or is opposed to union labor, or is attempting to establish the open shop. "There is," said Mr. Marling, its former President, and at the time the Chairman of its Transportation Committee, "nothing in our principle which conflicts with the unionization of piers or trucks provided all classes of merchandise are impartially served." The sole object of the Merchants' Association is to reopen the channels of commerce.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Is the American Federation of Labor a conservative or a radical body? It is the supreme council of organized labor. Bolsheviki, the I. W. W., and the organizers of "outlaw" strikes denounce it as hidebound, behind the age, and even reactionary; heads of corporations that oppose collective bargaining and union supremacy consider it a radical menace. The fact is that, like most large representative bodies, it has a Left and a Right, an extreme radical wing and a slow-moving conservative wing. Between for many years has stood the remarkable personality of Samuel Gompers, sometimes persuading, sometimes driving, always a dominating influence.

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SAMUEL W. GOMPERS, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, AND FRANK MORRISON, SECRETARY

At the International Convention just held at Montreal Mr. Gompers for the first time suffered a severe defeat. He remains the head of the Federation, but in opposition to his judgment and opinion the Federation for the first time voted squarely and by a large majority for Government control of the railways. By a vote of 29,058 to 8,348 it called for "Government ownership and democratic operation of the railroad systems and necessary inland waterways." The chief advocate for this decision was Mr. Frank Morrison, whose portrait we present herewith with that of Mr. Gompers. The railway unions constitute about a quarter of the membership of the Federation and were practically unanimous for Government ownership.

Outside organized labor few people believe that this country is ripe for Government ownership of railways. The initial expense, the condition of the National debt, the political aspect of the question, and other considerations argue against it. Probably the Federation itself does not expect immediate action. Unwise and uneconomical as the proposal may be, it must be admitted that it is not revolutionary or anarchical. It is not a part of Red radicalism. If the time comes when Government ownership is practical, profitable, and feasible, men have a perfect right to argue for it and try to secure it by legislation.

Not so with the proposal to recognize the Russian Bolsheviki. Against this, we are glad to report, the Federation made a strong protest. Its resolution says:

> The American Federation of Labor is not justified in taking any action which could be construed as an assistance to or approval of the Soviet Government of Russia so long as that Government is based upon authority which is not vested in it by a popular representative national assemblage of the Russian people, or so long as it endeavors to create revolutions in well-established civilized nations of the world, or so long as it advocates and applies the militarization of labor and persecutes the organizing and functioning of trade unions and the maintenance of a free press and free public assemblage.

The Federation at the very last moment and by a very small vote indorsed the Covenant of the League of Nations as it stands, "not as a perfect document," but as "the nearest approach to perfection that ever has been devised for the prevention of war." It deprecated any exercise of force by the United States in Mexico which would lead to the exploitation of Mexican workers by American capitalists. It found the Kansas Industrial Court law and the present railway law reactionary, declared that the responsibility for the Boston police strike rested with the Police Commissioner of the city, asked that the Irish be given the right of self-determination, demanded further legislation to curb profiteering, condemned the recent anti-union "secessionist" railway strikes, and, finally, called upon Congress to exclude altogether Japanese and other Asiatic immigrants from America.

ATHLETIC NOTES

International sport occupies the eyes of the yachting, golfing, and tennis world. This July, Sir Thomas Lipton will again try his fortune in a race for the America's cup—a cup which has reposed on this side of the water since the middle of the last century. The persistent effort of the British to retrieve that cup is a good illustration of the proverb "It's dogged that does it." But this British proverb is probably just as applicable to

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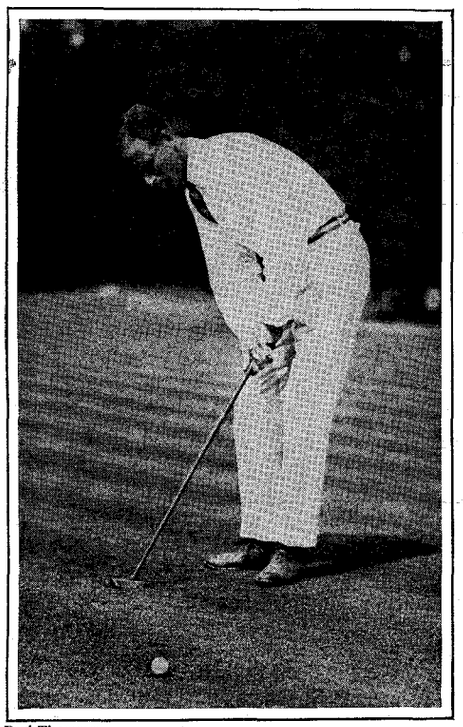
the effort which will be made by American yachtsmen to bring back the cup to this shore if Sir Thomas Lipton should chance to be the winner of the trophy.

The golfing world followed with interest the invasion of a small group of



Paul Thompson

ROBERT GARDNER

American golfers who went to England in an effort to capture the British amateur championship. In this tournament an American player, Robert Gardner, of Chicago, and former American champion, held his own to the very end. In the finals he lost out by one hole, his opponent, Cyril Tolley, a young Oxford undergraduate, making the hole in better than par and winning the match.

As The Outlook goes to press the opening rounds of the tournament for the Davis cup, which carries with it the premier laurels of tennisdom, are being played on the famous courts at Wimbledon, England. America's best players are in this tournament, and the hopes that they may bring back the cup seem bright. Johnston, previous to the Wimbledon tournament, captured the championship of London, his opponent in the finals being a fellow-American.

This year the historic regatta which has been held for so many years on the Hudson at Poughkeepsie was transferred to the waters of Lake Cayuga. Instead of the customary four miles of the Hudson River course, the route was cut in half, a change which many oarsmen have advocated as the proper distance for an intercollegiate race. On its home waters Cornell's crew suffered defeat, and was again forced (as in 1916, the last race before the war) to yield first place in the 'varsity race to the University of Syracuse. Following Syracuse, the crews completed the race in the following order: Cornell, Columbia, and Pennsylvania. There were no crews this year from the Middle West and West, so the regatta did not have the intersectional interest which it has sometimes possessed in former years.

Princeton, which a few years ago, before the creation of Lake Carnegie, had no opportunity to develop a crew or a rowing tradition, has this year beaten both Harvard and Yale. The contest between the two latter universities on the Thames at New London is still to be held as we go to press. American oarsmen will also follow with interest the famous regatta at Henley, for America is represented therein by the Union Boat Club of Boston, composed entirely of Harvard graduates.

A BRITISH EXPLANATION OF THE WAR

This year's college commencements have been distinguished by some remarkable addresses. The one to elicit most criticism has been that of Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador, at Princeton. As reported by the New York "Times" Sir Auckland said:

> As this century opened we had in Europe an order that was obviously nearing its end. That order, that social organization, was built upon the economic fact that there were in North America . . . large areas of land capable of producing food, either in the form of wheat or in the form of meat, and that food was not wanted for consumption in North America, but was available for easy transport to Europe. And, as this century opened, your increasing industrial development had produced here a vast increase in population which was beginning to intercept that food. . . I think that it is not very difficult to show that the development of your population here was the principal cause in making the European war inevitable.
>
> Germany was being forced into a position with rising food costs—look at the change in the price of wheat in the first ten years of this century—Germany was being forced into a position in which she almost had to fight.

This statement is surprising. It would appear that Germany went to war because we were consuming our own food and so left none for her consumption. Of course it can be shown that our export of food continued to be very large. For instance, according to the "Times:"

> The deliverance comes just as the census figures are being published, showing a further increase in our population of perhaps fifteen or twenty per cent. That would infallibly mean, according to the Geddes theory, another European war. . . . The second thing to say is that the theory itself is hollow. . . . "As this century opened," and when we were supposed to be "intercepting" the food which Europe needed, we were in fact steadily increasing our exports of foodstuffs. The total value of agricultural exports in 1900 was $844,000,000. In 1913 it was $1,123,000,000. We make no mention of the still higher exports under the stimulus of the war.

Germany, in fact, could get food cheaply, if not from America, at all events from Rumania and Hungary. We find, however, that in the year of the war's beginning Germany was so independent of food imports as to place a high protective tariff on them.

Whether Sir Auckland Geddes is misinformed as to economic conditions, or mistaken in his inferences from them, is not necessarily very important; but it does seem to us of the first importance that the British Ambassador should express himself in such a way as to give the impression that he is inclined to accept the German view concerning the war as a war of self-preservation on Germany's part. It is hard for us to believe that Sir Auckland really believes what he seems to say. In the course of his speech he appealed for a better understanding between the nations. We are afraid that such a statement as that he made regarding the origin of the war will not tend to promote among Americans an understanding of the real British point of view.

COLLEGE COMMENCEMENTS

Colonel Frederick Palmer at the Allegheny College Commencement warned his hearers that war might come as a result of knifing the League of Nations, saying:

> To give the League of Nations a bad name at the start is to make public opinion skeptical and to prejudice the League's future. . . . At this moment the world is in a fresh fever of arming. . . . Itwould seem to be a paradox that we fought the war to end a war. . . . Each nation, skeptical of the League's promises, in the determination of self-assurance is taking out a policy under the old system.

At Trinity College Arthur Woods, former Police Commissioner of New York City, pleaded for closer contact and understanding between employer and employee, in the same way that men fought side by side in the war. He remarked:

> Aliens were drafted with the rest. Did they fight? I can tell you now that in New York the police were prepared for draft riots in large proportions. But the new arrivals stood the test. Many of them could not speak English. Many of them knew nothing of our Declaration of Independence. . . . But they knew American men. They had met them man-to-man and the quality of our manhood won them. . . . They trained together, they endured together, they fought and helped each other together, and they died together. The newcomer, though understanding little, was ready to fight and die for a country that such comrades held dear.
>
> And the test has continued in another

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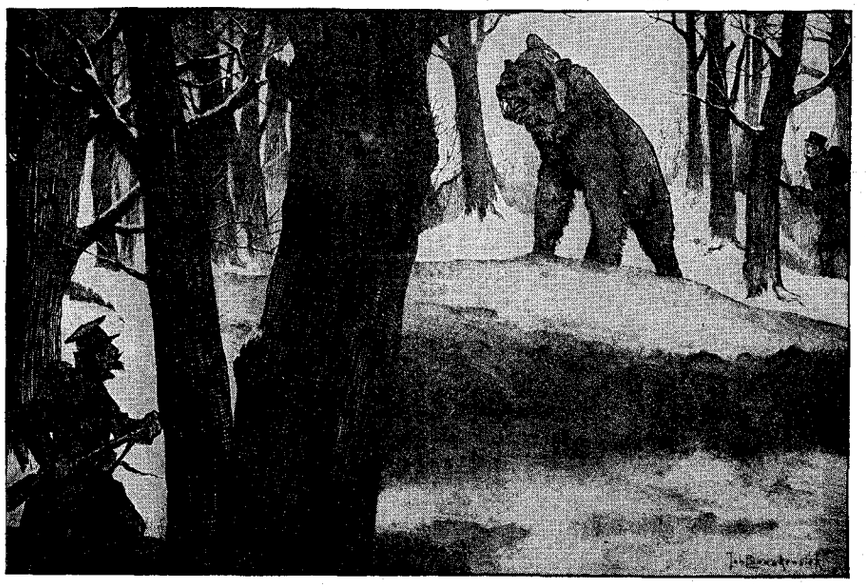
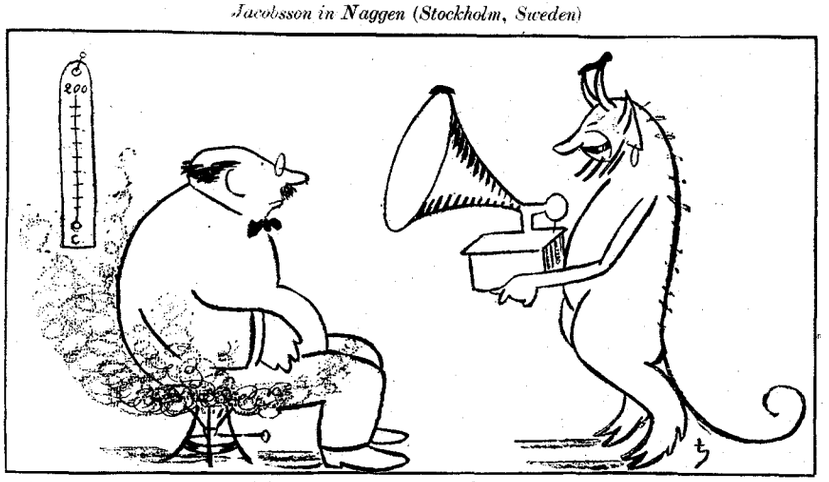
CARTOONS FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS

Braakensiek in De Amsterdammer (Amsterdam, Holland)



RUSSIA ATTACKED FROM TWO SIDES—CAN THEY BRING HIM DOWN WITHOUT KILLING HIM?

Jacobsson in Naggen (Stockholm, Sweden)



Late Politician: "Ah, that's better. Let's have a little music."
Demon of Hades: "This is not music. It's the speeches you delivered in your lifetime."

From Simplicissimus (Munich, Bavaria)

"I thought you were at death's door!"
"I was. I couldn't get through. The grave-diggers are on strike."

From John Bull (London, England)

"I keep climbing up, but I never seem any forrader!
With higher wages things get all the 'horrider'!"

From London Opinion

Rector: "So you're off to the Labor Protest Meeting? Now tell me, James, what are your grievances?"
Gardener: "Well, zur, that be just what I be a-goin' for tew find out!"

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THE "SENIOR SING" AT AMHERST'S COMMENCEMENT

form since the war. We have unrest. . . . Experiments are going on. . . . It was man-to-man contact and understanding that made our unconquerable war spirit. . . . And it will be man-to-man contact and understanding that will bring the same confidence . . . between employer and employee.

Democracy was emphasized by Charles E. Hughes at Wellesley College. He declared, doubtless thinking of the Socialists at Albany:

> The motto for democracy must be, Educate, educate, educate. You can find no other security than the intelligence and conscience of the people. But you cannot at once educate and stifle opinion. There is hope in the free air, there is tonic in confidence, in ultimate success of what you strongly believe to be true. But the policy of denying every expression of opinions is death to the Republic for that expression is its vital force.

PRESIDENTS LOWELL AND HADLEY

In their Baccalaureate addresses President Lowell, of Harvard, and Hadley, of Yale, drew lessons from the Civil War. Referring to the great object of war, namely, to win victory, Mr. Lowell said that a man had no need to trouble himself about the end he sought, but should fix his thoughts only upon the means of securing it. Mr. Lowell continued:

> With the ceasing of hostilities this has changed. . . . Unity of effort has been succeeded by dispersion of aims. Men have no longer a common object.
>
> In the closing days of the Civil War, General Alexander found General Lee sitting by a camp-fire and suggested that if he would give orders to disband and rally in the mountains of North Carolina a guerrilla warfare might be kept up indefinitely. General Lee replied that the cause for which they had fought was lost, that the plan proposed would result in anarchy and barbarism, and they must remember that they were a Christian and civilized people. He rode away to arrange the surrender.
>
> General Grant remarked that the Southern soldiers had better keep their horses for the spring plowing. Neither commander forgot that the war was a *means not an end*, and that the end had already been reached by victory on one side. . . .
>
> The man who knows what he wants and how he means to get it is very apt to succeed. . . . If the world means more than a senseless struggle for material pleasure, . . . the higher life is the only one that is worth living, and it can be attained only by keeping the ultimate good always before the eyes.

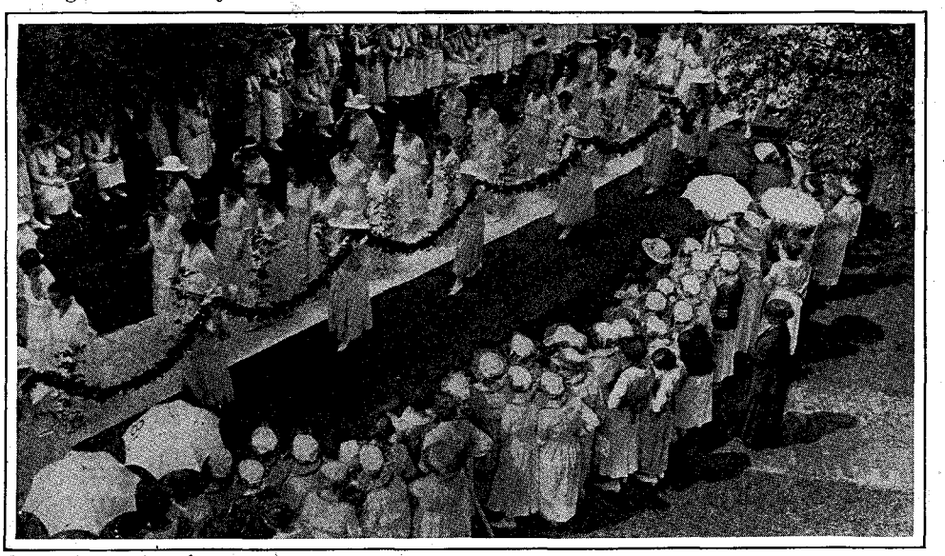
President Hadley, of Yale, in his Baccalaureate address urged aiming at the embodiment of ideals. Men like Choate and Osler, he said, "did more than practice law and medicine; they gave the fellow-members of their professions standards of success to pursue." He continued:

> Leaders like Lincoln or Davis, Grant or Lee, did more than plan a war. They furnished . . . the embodiment of ideals for which to fight. . . . If we look back on our early childhood, we will see that the lessons which gave religion any real meaning were taught in our homes. . . . The Sunday school and the church simply give names to conceptions that were already familiar. The God we brought with us from home is little more than an enlarged figure of father and mother projected against the background of the ages. . . . The grown man seeks companionship and leadership just as surely as the boy seeks the society of his brothers or the guidance of his father. Companions and leaders shape our ideals of God in later life just as the members of our family did in early life. . . .
>
> Three ideals stand out clear for every one of us: first, that people get their religion not from the constituted teachers of religious doctrine but from the men they know and the men they admire; second, that the choice of men to know and admire determines what kind of God each of us will have and in what spirit each of us will do his work; and, third, that whatever power of leadership a man possesses is in its essence a power of shaping other men's religion and giving them ideals of the divine purpose.

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF BEREA COLLEGE

William Goodell Frost is succeeded as President of Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, by William James Hutchins. The latter has been Professor of Homiletics at Oberlin Seminary, and previously was pastor of the Bedford Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn. In 1917 he won a prize of five thousand dollars for a "Code of Morals" offered through the National Institution for Moral Instruction at Washington. The contest ran for twelve months. Each writer was asked to produce a code of not more than three thousand words in two parts: first, for elementary school-children; second, for high school boys and girls. Fifty-two writers competed.

President Hutchins is fifty-one years old. He was educated at Oberlin, Yale, and at the Union Theological Seminary. The good wishes of Berea's friends will be with him in the hope that he may continue his predecessor's monumental work. Under Dr. Frost Berea College has gone ahead by leaps and bounds. Its students have come from all the mountain counties of Kentucky, and from many other mountain counties in the Virginias, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and other States—a total attendance of over twenty-five hundred. Berea is really five schools in one—the college, a normal school, a vocational school, an academy, and a foundation school, the last giving the common branches to persons above fifteen years old who cannot be classed with children in getting the elementary branches. The grouping of these five schools constitutes not only an economy but an advantage from the standpoint of efficiency. Each student has the



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THE IVY PROCESSION AT SMITH COLLEGE

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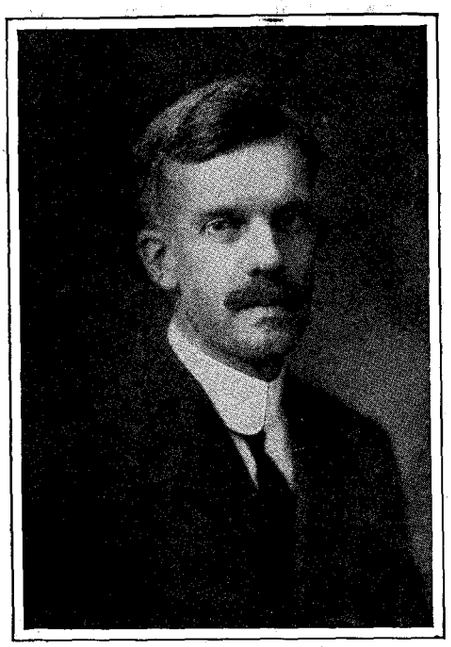

W. J. HUTCHINS, PRESIDENT OF BEREA COLLEGE

type of education he needs, and at the same time has the enthusiasm of a large institution.

Most Berea students, we would add, are in humble circumstances. They cannot remain in school a full year at a time. Many of them stay out for the autumn to teach small public schools which are conducted in that season rather than in the winter because the schoolhouses are in poor condition and the children can go barefoot in the autumn!

Berea College is of unique importance. Its educational problem is unlike any other in America, and it has been solved.

BABEUFISM AND BOLSHEVISM

François Noël Babeuf was a popular leader in the French Revolution. He believed with Robespierre that the population of France should be reduced by some millions of reactionaries and others to provide bread and work for the rest of the people. Babeuf's social ideal was, as he said, "the equal distribution of work and pleasure." To bring this about he would wrest all property from its owners by force and distribute it among the people—to be administered in their discretion; he would have community of goods and labor; he would compel every one to work so many hours a day in return for equal remuneration, payment for work to be not in money but in kind; he would collect the products of labor in huge communal stores and dole them out in equal rations to the workers; he would give all children to the state at birth and have them trained in state institutions; to accentuate their ownership by the state he would not, except in rare instances, have children bear their fathers' names; he would have only a primitive kind of education; he would not allow boys to choose their profession, for they must be trained for whatever work the state most urgently needed.

Babeuf was executed in 1797. We live in 1920. Between those two dates, as Mrs. Nesta Webster, in the May number of the "Nineteenth Century," shows in calling attention to the above facts, there have come such innovations as horseless carriages, airships, rapid-transit subways, while science and humanitarianism in all their branches have gone forward by leaps and bounds. But the special branch of Socialism known as Bolshevism, she asserts, has simply brought us back to Babeuf's propaganda, that "grotesque episode" in the history of Socialism. Mrs. Webster cites the following statements made by Russian Bolshevists and Communists as paralleling Babeufism:

> To deprive the rich of their power by depriving them of their wealth is the paramount duty of Communists.
>
> In a community order all the wealth belongs not to individuals or classes, but to society.
>
> A central bureau of statistics calculates how much is required to manufacture in a year such and such a number of boots, trousers, sausages, blacking, wheat, cloth, etc. It will also calculate what for this purpose such and such a number of men must work in the fields and in the sausage work respectively and such and such a number in the large communal tailoring and work shops. Working hands will be distributed accordingly. All this can be attained only by working to a single plan and by organizing the whole community into one vast labor commune.

A GREAT FRENCH ACTRESS

Gabrielle Réjane is dead. She was sixty-three years old. Not only France but the whole world is the loser. It was always a delight to see Réjane on the stage. Beyond any other actress she interpreted French characteristics and traits.

Charlotte Réju was the daughter of an actor. She took the stage name of Gabrielle Réjane. She won a Conservatoire prize. Her first appearances were naturally as a soubrette. She had immediate success, as all will remember who may have seen her at Paris in "Ma Camarade" in the early '80's. Then she essayed larger and more emotional rôles in such plays as "Amoureuse" and "Ma Cousine."

In 1893 Sardou wrote his "Madame Sans-Gêne." Perhaps it is not one of his most powerful dramas, but certainly it is one of his most popular. It combines a Napoleonic incident with graphic depiction of every-day life. But it would not have instantly leaped to the full measure of its popularity, as it did, had Réjane not interpreted the title rôle. It exactly fitted her animated, vivacious, witty, racy self. She was the perfect incarnation of the heroine. Madame Sans-Gêne became her best-known rôle, not only in France, but also in England and America, where she played before appreciative audiences—indeed, they seemed to understand her better than the other representatives of the French drama who have played outside of France. Her work in "La Parisienne," "La Passarelle," and "Zaza" was also notable.

In eloquence and spiritual power others were greater than Réjane. But in comedy she was, we think, unrivaled.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "THE" AND "A"

In an unusual and interesting authorized interview published in the New York "World," President Wilson again asserts his belief, first definitely expressed in a letter read at the Jackson Day dinner at Washington last January, that the American people should have an opportunity at the ballot-box of expressing their views regarding the Covenant of the League of Nations which he, the President, brought back from Paris.

That they are likely to have such an opportunity in the Presidential election in November becomes more and more apparent. If the Democratic Convention in San Francisco espouses the plan of a League of Nations of which the President is the foremost living champion, without reservation or amendment, the issue will be clearly joined. But it will not be the issue which the President lays down in his "World" interview. In that interview he asserts that the Republican platform rejects any form of a League of Nations. He intimates that those who vote the Democratic ticket will vote for an international association of nations to preserve peace, and those who vote the Republican ticket will vote against any such association. He proceeds in his interview as follows:

> A recent son of Ohio who became President of the United States advocated *a* League of Nations more than fifteen years before I became impressed with its tremendous importance and seized upon it as providing the greatest insurance ever devised against war. I mean William McKinley. Senator Theodore Burton, another Ohio Republican possessing rare powers of perception, was an ardent champion of it. Senator Lodge was so favorably impressed with the value of *a* League of Nations as providing adequate safeguards against war that he openly championed it in an address before Union College.
>
> So it must be a trifle disconcerting to some Republicans to have their party propose now to repudiate that which was approved a few years ago by some of their most important leaders. I am as confident to-day as I was when I returned from Paris finally in July last that the people of not only America but of the entire world are in favor of *the* League of Nations.

The words "a" and "the" in the foregoing quotation are italicized by us, not

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by the President. These italicized words, although the simplest and most elementary in the English language, are of profound importance in this quotation from the President's authorized statement. We cannot avoid the conclusion that they indicate either his disingenuousness or the limitations which his prejudices place upon his thinking. President McKinley, President Roosevelt, Secretary Root, Secretary Hay, Senator Burton, and Senator Lodge never advocated *the* League of Nations. What they urged was an association of nations for the maintenance of international justice and international peace.

What the President appears to forget or to ignore or to be blindly unable to see is that he advocates a specific, elaborate, and detailed plan for carrying out the principle of a League of Nations. His plan is diplomatic, legislative, political. The plan which President McKinley and President Roosevelt and Secretary Root advocated was judicial. Out of their plan grew the final Hague Peace Conference and the proposal for the establishment of an international supreme court. The plan which Mr. Wilson champions is for the creation of a political federation with legislative, executive, and military powers.

In the issue of The Outlook for May 19, under the title "Two Paths to Peace," we endeavored, without prejudice, to define and differentiate these two plans—a differentiation which we repeat here because we think the voters in the next Presidential election should clearly understand the issue. That issue is not, as the President endeavors to maintain, between co-operation with Europe on the one hand and American isolation on the other. It is between two distinct methods of carrying out co-operation with the rest of the civilized world in behalf of international justice.

If the President has his way, the Democratic party will advocate the creation of an international parliament, consisting of an assembly and a senate or executive council, certain of its decrees or decisions to be supported by military force; this international parliament to decide such questions as those of political boundaries between European states.

The Republican party, and, if we mistake not, a large majority of the people of the United States, decline to involve themselves in the European disputes over political boundaries or to pledge themselves to fight to sustain the legislative acts of an international parliament.

What, then, does the Republican party stand for? We quote from its platform:

> The Republican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action; so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war. . . .
>
> We pledge the coming Republican Administration to such agreement with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and to humanity in accordance with American ideals.

This pronouncement the President intimates is "political sculduggery," and characterizes it as an "attempt to sidestep or evade moral and humanitarian responsibilities." It does not seem so to us. To us it appears to be a genuine attempt to define the real issue. President Wilson wants the country to indorse *the* League of Nations, a political federation more binding almost upon its members than the federation which unites the British Empire. The Republican platform urges the country to enter into *a* league or association with other civilized nations for the codification of international law and the erection of an international supreme court whose authority shall be not military but legal and moral.

THE TWO AMERICAN PARTIES

IS there any difference in principle between the Democratic and the Republican party? It has become almost a commonplace to answer, No. Particularly this year, when there seems to be no great philosophical or political issue, like the tariff, or bimetalism, or States' rights, on which the two parties take opposite positions, it seems to be generally believed that all real distinction in character between the two parties has disappeared. Of course there are certain traditions which each party cherishes as its own, but these traditions are for the most part unrelated, as far as the unbiased observer can easily see, to the questions of the day. Apparently the two parties have become scarcely more than huge political clubs, and men are Democrats or Republicans for reasons unconnected with their political convictions. Party ties are, it is true, still strong; but are they the ties that bind men of common belief? Are they not rather like the ties of the tribe?

This is a question of real importance in this campaign, for if there is no difference in the political character of the parties the voter may cast his ballot for candidates solely with regard to the fitness of each man for the particular office for which he is named; but if there is a real difference between the parties, then the voter must consider which party he prefers to have control.

It is plain, it seems to us, that there is no such distinction between parties in America as can be found in England, for example, and in most countries of Europe. In England the party line divides the Liberal from the Conservative. The Liberal may be Radical. The Conservative may be Tory. There may be gradations between the two extremes, and the line may shift as the Mississippi shifts, and those that dwell near the line may find their allegiance changed. Nevertheless, on the one side there is a tendency to radicalism and on the other side there is a tendency toward conservatism. This distinction does not exist as a party distinction in America, and never has existed. There are radicals and reactionaries in both the American parties. At times one party has moved toward radicalism and the other has taken the conservative position, and then they have changed places.

It does not seem to us likely that the line will ever be in America like that which marks the political division in England. At least the signs that such a line would appear at the time of the organization of the Progressive party are no longer in evidence. There are radical groups and there may be a radical party in this campaign, but the grand division this year is not going to be between radical and conservative; it will still be between Republican and Democrat.

In one of his essays in the volume entitled "The Foe of Compromise" the late William Garrott Brown pointed out the distinction between the two parties in America. That volume is now out of print, unfortunately, and not easily obtained. In that essay he characterized the Democratic party as the party of the air, and the Republican party as the party of the earth. The strength of the Democratic party as well as its weakness is that it is primarily the party of theory, and the weakness of the Republican party as well as its strength is that it is the party of practice. Each party has both the defects and the virtues of its qualities. At its best the Democratic party cultivates idealism; but for that very reason it is in danger from the doctrinaire. At its best the Republican party is a party of great achievement; but for that very reason it is in danger from the materialist. This is not to say that the Democratic party is incapable of achievement, or that the Republican party is incapable of ideals. The difference between the two is like most great differences in history—a difference of emphasis.

In the elections next fall the American voters are going to choose not only a

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President but also a party. Is it a time when we wish men in power who are intent on visions and theories and doctrines, men who are interested chiefly in planning and devising? If this distinction between the parties is a sound one, and we answer yes to that question, we shall put the Democratic party back into power. Or is it a time when we wish men in authority who have their feet planted firmly on the earth, and who are interested chiefly in building a visible structure that may not conform quite exactly to any prearranged plan, but will serve on the whole adequately for the purpose for which it was designed? If this distinction between the parties is sound, and we answer yes to that question, we shall replace the Democratic party with the Republican. There are a good many people who believe that the great need of the time is a new plan or theory of government to fit the new social conditions within the Nation and the new relations which have been established between this Nation and others—that is, that we need more and better theory. There are a great many other people who believe that during the past eight years we have had theory enough, and that the time has come for making what theories we have work easily and without friction at home and abroad. In this there is no definite and distinct issue involved, like the tariff, bimetalism, or States' rights, but there is a great political question which will be decided one way by Democratic success and quite another way by Republican success.

STUPID OPTIMISM

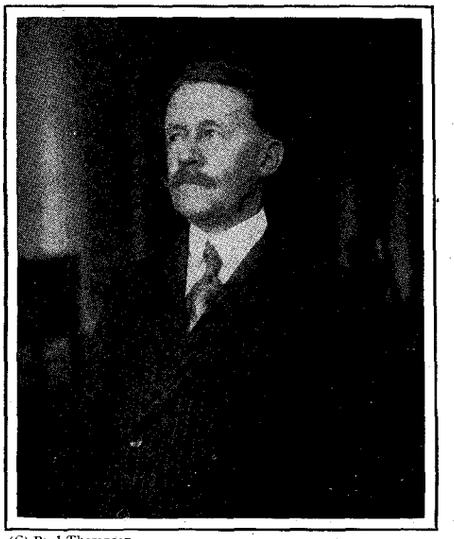
WE read an article recently in which the writer placidly contended that "nothing really mattered," and that "whatever was, was best," and that it was foolish to worry about anything at all, as things eventually came out right.

Dangerous doctrines, though written, no doubt, with a high purpose. If nothing mattered, it would indeed be a stupid world to live in, and the very root of ethical teaching would be torn up as if by a hurricane. (Hurricanes, by the way, matter a great deal.) If one pursued so easy a train of thought and belief, there would have been no need for Belgium, for instance, to resist the horrible German invasion; and America would have had no cause for entering the Great War. The preachments of Pollyanna never appealed to us. To be "glad" about everything is as stupid and unimaginative as to be miserable about everything. Which reminds us of a story we heard the other day. A soldier returned from the front with his left arm shot away. One of the disciples of the uplift school, wishing to say something to the young man which would help him in his difficult battle with life, remarked, with a smile like ice: "It's too bad you got that injury, but you must be very glad indeed that it was not your right arm that you lost." The brave soldier looked her straight in the eye and answered calmly: "Yes, I would have been very, very glad; only I happened to be left-handed."

If nothing mattered, there would be no standards of right and wrong; and while no one who is a man all through will whimper and whine when fate seems cruelly against him, there are moments when the stupid optimists should be driven from the room to make way for the philosophical every-day citizens who believe in doing their best in the face of disaster and trying to surmount with courage the obstacles that confront us all now and then.

AN EFFICIENT CITIZEN

"BUSINESS is public service" was the motto of George Walbridge Perkins, who has just died at the early age of fifty-eight. But "Public service is business" he might also have said. Though his business activities exemplified the first motto, the second was also rightly evident in the essential public service upon which he entered twenty years ago when Governor Roosevelt appointed him President of an unpaid Commission to acquire property along the Palisades of the Hudson River for an inter-State park. Mr. Perkins bought some two hundred properties so advantageously that when, nine years later, the park was dedicated, Governor Fort, of New Jersey, queried whether "so valuable a piece of property was ever purchased at such a reasonable price?" adding, "The work of the Palisades Park Commission is an object-lesson in finance for municipal park projects." The value of the Inter-State Park has now been immensely enhanced by Mrs. E. H. Harriman's gift of about ten thousand acres of forest and mountain land in the adjacent Rockland County, creating Bear Mountain Park. The two parks constitute perhaps the most splendid recreation ground in the world.



(C) Paul Thompson
GEORGE W. PERKINS

Born in Chicago, Mr. Perkins first sprang into National notice because of his work in New York City; first came his long connection with the New York Life Insurance Company (when fifteen years old he had entered its employment in its Chicago office), which he enlarged and strengthened; then for nine years as a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. he proved himself an influential factor in the financial world; and finally as a director in the Steel and Harvester Corporations, through his initiative, for the first time in the history of our great American enterprises the personal, individual interests of the employee as well as the interests of labor as a class were given prime consideration over those of the employer.

This interest in social justice led him to associate himself with the National Progressive party in 1912, because, as he used to say, "the principal problems with which we are confronted are those of men rather than of money. I believe that the Progressive party in its programme holds the correct solution that will make for social and industrial justice."

Mr. Perkins also saw that we had outgrown the old-fashioned, cutthroat competition. Great units of business, he believed, properly managed, make for economy and for better conditions for wage-earner and consumer alike.

At the end of 1916 Governor Whitman appointed him Chairman of the Committee on Food Supply and Marketing Conditions. Mr. Perkins attacked this problem with characteristic acumen, pointing out especially to the citizens of the metropolis that it was supplying itself with food through substantially the same methods of forty years ago.

During the war he was Chairman of the War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A. and contributed largely not only in money but in what was infinitely more valuable, in time, to the success of that endeavor.

Mr. Perkins's belief about the function of the business man is illustrated by the story, told us since his death by an intimate personal friend and associate, of the way in which he entered the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. Mr. Perkins designed and introduced into the New York Life Insurance Company a profit-sharing plan which greatly cemented the loyalty of the army of field agents of that organization, and so increased their efficiency that the growth of the business attracted the attention of the financial world. As a result

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of this marked success, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan offered Mr. Perkins a partnership. Before deciding, Mr. Perkins went to Washington and consulted President McKinley, who was a personal friend. Mr. McKinley met him one evening at the White House after the day's work was finished, saying: "Now, young man, we have the night before us and no one can disturb us. Tell me what you want?" Young Perkins, still in his thirties, told President McKinley what he was doing in the New York Life, how his ambition was to aid in making a great public service institution, and so impressed Mr. McKinley with his vision that the reply of the President was: "Why, as I see it, there is only one thing for you to do, and that is to decline Mr. Morgan's offer."

Mr. Perkins came back to New York, told Mr. Morgan that his sole ambition was, after providing his family with reasonable comfort, to be of public service; that the New York Life afforded him this opportunity; that, so far as he could see, the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. did not; that, with all due respect, he could see in the Morgan firm only a money-making concern which did not interest him; and so he declined the offer with thanks.

Mr. Morgan replied: "Young man, you have won the first round, but I think I can convince you before I get through that your opportunities for public service with this firm are greater than those you now possess."

Mr. Morgan's prophecy came true in a few months. He showed Mr. Perkins how a constructive banker can promote the thrift and industrial welfare of thousands upon thousands, not only of investors but of industrial workers. It was on this basis that Mr. Perkins finally accepted the partnership, and he devoted himself largely to this phase of industrial development, notably in the United States Steel Corporation and the International Harvester Company, but also in various other industrial enterprises with which he came in contact.

The incident throws light not only on Mr. Perkins's personality but on the real purposes of many of the captains of industry, so called, who are leaders in American commerce and finance.

Though Mr. Perkins's strong will and his training as an executive in business affairs made it at times difficult for him to adapt himself to the give-and-take of politics, he had opinions on public questions which were well worth heeding, because those opinions sprang from an enlightened conscience and the loftiest desire to be of use to his fellow-men.

REPUBLICAN REVULSION AGAINST THE ROTTEN BOROUGH

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

IT was the rotten borough in the South and the attempt to seat delegates in the National Convention who had been selected in other parts of the United States by rotten borough methods that was the immediate cause of the Republican political revolution of 1912. The Roosevelt revolt was a moral revolt against the corruption which lay at the heart of the Republican boss and machine system. The Old Guardsmen of that period would not yield, but secured for their tainted delegations the backing of the packed National Committee with ruthless disregard for the right of the contestants or of the Republican party and the country.

After eight years there are signs that the Roosevelt spirit of party and patriotic integrity is winning its way. To be sure, the conditions revealed in the trial of the 137 contests before the National Committee preliminary to the recent Convention at Chicago appear to be as bad as ever. More than 150 delegates were from Southern States that never did cast an electoral vote for a Republican President and never will. In five of these States the vote for Hughes in 1916 was less than 700 for each of the delegates who were elected in these States to direct the destinies of the party, while in Northern States more than 16,000 of the Republican voters of the last election have but one delegate to represent them.

More than this, the most deplorable evidences of injustice as between the white and the black races were manifest. Primaries and conventions were held in hotels into which no colored voter was allowed to enter and in out-of-the-way places inaccessible to a controlling part of the electorate. Money was poured into these rotten borough districts by certain of the factional groups struggling for the Presidency.

The South has long been the plague spot of Republican National politics. And the reason is plain. Any predatory financial or political coterie is in a strong position if it can send a representative into the South and buy a block of delegates for trading purposes in the quadrennial convention. It may obtain enough to determine the Presidential choice. If it is not able to do this, it may have influence enough to name an Attorney-General or a Secretary of the Treasury in the Cabinet.

For many years the bureaucratic influences within the Republican party have maintained this monstrous inequity, because here was a large section of the Convention which was most susceptible to undemocratic manipulation. But it has been one of the factors which has nearly wrecked the party. It has not only aroused continuing moral revolt because of its essential injustice, but it has made impossible a sound party center of gravity. It has often been impossible to tell what the real majority opinion of the Republican masses of the country has been upon the most vital issues of National progress, impossible to say what their real view was upon candidacies or policies.

But the tide of integrity which Roosevelt set moving within Republicanism in 1912 seems to be rising. The handling of the large number of contests this year was above reproach. The temporary roll was determined first by the National Committee, which sat for the best part of a week before the Convention met. The work of the Committee as a whole was impartially and admirably done. Half of the contests were disposed of by unanimous action, in open session and after careful consideration of the evidence. There was an eagerness to do the right thing; and once the right appeared, everybody was for it. The third day's session of the Committee was far advanced before there was even a detailed roll-call, and there were only four roll-calls during the week. The diversity of the vote cast in these four instances—thirty-six to thirteen in the Minnesota case, eight to thirty-four in the Georgia case, sixteen to twenty-nine in the Oklahoma case, and twenty to twenty-three in the Missouri case—indicates that the vote was each time on the merits of the contest as presented to the Committee. In the Missouri district contest both delegates were denied seats.

The Credentials Committee of the Convention made only three changes in the work of the National Committee, involving altogether four delegates; one was the Georgia district contest, and in that case when the National Committee made its decision it had not before it the minutes of the county convention upon the personnel of which the contest turned, and, not having the minutes, seated the delegates who were apparently regular and technically legal. The minutes revealed that a mistake had been made, and the Credentials Committee of the Convention reversed the National Com-

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mittee in this instance. In the Kansas City case the National Committee refused to seat either the contestants or the contestees, leaving a great city without representation in the Convention. The Credentials Committee believed this to be unfair and seated the two delegates having the best paper title. In the Tenth Tennessee District instance, a Negro who had been the boss of Memphis was seated by the National Committee. It developed that for several months he had been an attaché of the National Committee, on its pay-roll, and the Committee had been perhaps overpersuaded of his point of view and had seated him. The Credentials Committee of the Convention reversed this finding, as the Negro had bolted his own convention, which he himself had called, and had held a rump convention outside the hall.

The report of the National Committee, with these minor changes of the Credentials Committee, was unanimously made the permanent roll of the Convention. And just before they adjourned the delegates, without a dissenting voice, ordered the National Committee of the party to go over the whole subject of tainted methods and tainted boroughs and put into operation before the next Convention rules in keeping with the precepts of fairness and justice. Roosevelt's body lies in the grave, but his great spirit of integrity goes marching on.

June 19, 1920.

SIX POEMS FROM THE CHINESE

TRANSLATED BY WITTER BYNNER

A SPRING SONG

BY LIU YÜ-SHI

In chosen robes she comes down from her chamber
Into her courtyard, inclosure of spring.
When she tries from the center to count her flowers,
On the coils of her hair a dragon-fly poises.

ON HEARING HER PLAY THE HARP

BY LI TUAN

Hands of white jade by a window of snow
Glimmer on the golden-fretted harp,
And, to draw the quick eye of Chou Yü,[1]
Play a wrong note now and then.

HER JADE-WHITE STEPS

BY LI PO

My jade-white steps are cold with dew
And my stockings are wet, I waited so long.
I close my window. Then why do I stay
To watch through its crystal the glowing moon?

A SONG OF THE SOUTHERN RIVER

BY LI YI

Since I married the merchant of Ch'ü T'ang
He has failed each day to keep his word.
Had I thought how regular the tide is,
I might rather have chosen a river-boy.

ONE-HEARTED

BY WANG WÊI

When the holly comes in springtime,
Turning southland boughs vermilion,
Gather for my sake all you can,
To be a signal of our love.

SHE GRIEVES

BY LIU FANG-P'ING

With twilight at her silken window,
Lonely she weeps in her chamber of gold,
For spring is now leaving a desolate garden
And a drift of petals closes her door.

[1] Chou Yü, a hero of the period of the Three Kingdoms, young, handsome, a statesman, a general, a scholar, a musician, was fond of listening to classical music, and when a mistake would be made is said to have reminded the player with a glance. The instrument here spoken of is the *ch'eng*.

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

THE NEW PURITANISM

UNABLE to accept the invitation extended to me to take part in the International Congregational Council in Boston (June 29–July 6), I take this method of expressing my hope that this international gathering may presage a revival of that religion of obedience to divine law which is the secret of liberty and the foundation of civilization.

The definition of law furnished by John Austin (1790–1859), though derived from ancient Roman sources, is still a recognized classic, and may be briefly stated thus: Law is the edict of a superior who has the power to enforce his will by penalty, and this power confers on him his authority and creates in the subject a duty of obedience.

Theology is necessarily run into the same mold as that of the current philosophy of the day. The Church adopted substantially this definition and treated divine law as an edict of the King of kings, who has power to enforce his will by punishment. Puritanism accepted this theology. It regarded God as the Moral Governor of the Universe, the Bible as a Book of Laws, obedience as the supreme virtue, disobedience as the supreme sin, eternal punishment as the sanction which gave the law and the Lawgiver authority, and the day of judgment as the trial day when the guilt of the disobedient would be established and their doom pronounced. The Puritan differed from his religious predecessors in denying that any man or class of men—kings, priests, or aristocrats—have the right, because they have the power, to issue laws and to enforce them by penalties. They regarded no laws as just unless they had the divine authority. God was the only King they recognized and the Bible the only authoritative book of laws.

The New Puritanism denies Austin's definition. It is true that the power to enforce law is necessary to law; but it is not true that the authority of the ruler, whether human or divine, is derived from

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his power to inflict punishment for disobedience. The moral law is written in the nature of man. Social law is written in the nature of society. Commands are just when they correctly interpret these natural laws. Punishment is just when it follows naturally on the disobedience of these laws or is artificially inflicted to secure obedience and so prevent the evil consequences of disobedience. The moral law is in this respect precisely like the law of nature. The only difference—and it is an important one—is that man can disobey law and physical nature cannot. Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" is not a figure. It is a profound and fundamental philosophy.

The laws of nature are not imposed on nature. They are not apart from it, so that they can be enforced or not enforced at the will of the Lawmaker; they can be changed only if nature herself is changed. The laws of health are not imposed on the body. They are the nature of the body. When the physician says to his patient, You must rest half an hour before and half an hour after meals, he is not issuing a command nor is his authority derived from his power to inflict a penalty for disobedience. He is simply interpreting the nature of the body, and if his direction is not obeyed the body will inflict the penalty.

The moral laws are not commands imposed by a superior upon an inferior. Like the laws of nature, like the laws of health, they are written by the Creator in the act of creation. They are a part, and an essential part, of man. The Ten Commandments are not laws. They are a revelation of pre-existing laws. They did not make it wrong to murder, to steal, to commit adultery, to bear false witness. They simply revealed, unveiled, disclosed to man, his own nature. They told him in effect: You are so made that if you respect each other's rights to life, to property, to the family, to reputation, society will be peaceful and prosperous; if you violate these rights, the result will be ceaseless strife and an unending tragedy.

The Sermon on the Mount is not a series of laws creating new obligations. It is a revelation of the spiritual nature of the individual, as the Ten Commandments are a revelation of the moral nature of society.

Would you be happy? says Jesus. Your happiness will depend not on what you possess but on what you are. A lowly and contented spirit, eagerness for character not for office, overflowing pity and compassion, purity of heart, cheerfulness in suffering—these are the secrets of happiness. Would you be perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect? Like him, possess always the spirit and bestow on all men the gifts of good will. These are not rules for the regulation of conduct. They are interpretations of the laws of life.

Jesus summed up the whole law in two commandments: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." These are not statutes issued by a superior to an inferior, deriving their authority from the power of the superior to inflict penalties. They are interpretations of man's true nature. They enable him to understand himself. Man is made to love, as the fish to swim or the bird to fly. We all agree that a father who does not love his child is an unnatural father. Jesus tells us that the child of God who does not love his heavenly Father is an unnatural child, and he who does not love his brother man is an unnatural man.

God is far more than the Moral Governor of the world. He is far more than a Creator. He is a Father who in bringing his children into the world has given to them the beginnings of his own nature. The Bible is far more than a Book of Laws. It is a book of interpretations. Its laws were written in the soul of man long before they were written on the pages of a book, as the law of gravitation was written in the nature of the universe long before Newton discovered it and gave his discovery to the world.

Literature contains no other such comprehensive and compact code of morals as the Ten Commandments. But no statutes enacted for an unorganized multitude in the wilderness could be adequate to serve as regulations for conduct in our complicated modern life. Arthur Clough has illustrated this truth in his satirical poem, "The Latest Decalogue:"

> Thou shalt not kill; but need'st not strive
> Officiously to keep alive:
> Do not adultery commit;
> Advantage rarely comes of it:
> Thou shalt not steal; an empty feat,
> When it's so lucrative to cheat:
> Bear not false witness; let the lie
> Have time on its own wings to fly:
> Thou shalt not covet, but tradition
> Approves all forms of competition.

Literature contains no interpretation of the nature of the spiritual life comparable to the Sermon on the Mount. But to treat that sermon as a command or a series of commands is wholly to misunderstand its nature. "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also" as an interpretation of the spirit of a noble life has found its way into human consciousness and has had more effect on human life than any statute imposed on man and enforced by penalty could possibly have. But it is not a statute. Any judge would tell the inquirer that statutes must be strictly construed and that if this were a statute and one should strike you on the breast it would not forbid you from knocking him down.

The authority of the Ten Commandments does not depend upon the question whether they were given by Moses a thousand years before Christ or by an unknown prophet four hundred years before Christ. They are a revelation of man to himself and their authority is found in the response which is made to them by the consciousness of all normal men. The authority of the Sermon on the Mount does not depend on the question whether it was delivered as an ordination sermon by Jesus or was composed by Matthew out of sayings of Jesus on various occasions. Its authority is in the loud Amen which men of all ages and of all races and of various stages of moral development have made to it as an ideal of life and character. To use Coleridge's famous phrase, It finds us.

I have called this view of law a new Puritanism, but it is not really new. It is as old as Paul, who writes that the Gentiles do naturally the things contained in the law because they have the law in themselves; it is as old as the Hebrew psalmist, who writes, "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul." Not by obedience to external rules enforced by fear of penalty is the character transformed, but by discovering the laws of moral health within ourselves and yielding glad obedience to them. Nor is it only in the Hebrew writers that this truth is found, that the moral law is within the soul. Aristotle and Plato are two of the greatest teachers of morals in the pagan world, and this truth is found in the writings of both.

The times call loudly for a revival of Puritanism. Millions of immigrants have come to our country with a conception of law as the command of a superior whose only authority is power to inflict punishment, and with a conception of religion as a series of rules enforced by an Inquisition deferred till after death. No wonder that many of them repudiate the authority both of the Church and of the State, and have no other idea of liberty than absolutely unrestrained self-will. Never more than now has this country needed legislators who believe with Governor Coolidge that we do not make laws, we discover them; who believe with James Anthony Froude that "our human laws are but copies more or less imperfect of the eternal laws, so far as we can read them, and either succeed or promote our welfare or fail and bring confusion and disaster according as the legislator's insight has detected the true principle or has been distorted by ignorance or selfishness."

Never more than now has this country needed a ministry who will put emphasis on the declaration of Amiel that "the distinctive mark of religion is not so much liberty as obedience." We need a revival of a religion which brings liberty through obedience. Liberty is not unrestrained self-will; it is voluntary obedience to self-enforced law.

For law we cannot go back to the authority of kings nor hope to substitute for it the authority of presidents and congresses. We cannot call them our servants and yet recognize them as our masters. We cannot discard the authority of the living Church and substitute the authority of creeds and canons which the Church of past ages has framed. We cannot hope to substitute for either State or Church the authority of a book of laws over eighteen centuries old. We

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need, sorely need, a revival of Puritanism, but of modernized Puritanism—a Puritanism which will see the laws of God written in the hearts and consciences of men and will find authority in the voice of God, who lives with men and speaks to men now as truly as he ever did. We need not go back to past ages for evidence that the enthronement of self-will means destruction. Germany has written in letters of fire and blood, Self-will when it has conceived bringeth forth lawlessness, and lawlessness when it is finished bringeth forth death. And Russia has demonstrated, if demonstration were needed, that the self-will of the mob is as fatal to liberty and to life as the self-will of an emperor.

Professor Usher, in his interesting monograph on the "History of the Pilgrims," says that "the Pilgrim Movement was in truth a crusade for righteousness, a search for Utopia, a pilgrimage to the Promised Land." If we would make this land fulfill to future generations its promise, we must continue the "crusade for righteousness"—that is, for a willing obedience to the laws of God which the Bible interprets, which the Church ought to interpret, but which derive their authority neither from the Bible nor from the Church, but from the voice of God speaking in the soul of man.

MAKING AMERICANS OUT OF IMMIGRANTS

IN her biography Mary Antin points out that the Americanization of her family began as soon as they moved into an American neighborhood. Yet just as her mother was gladly learning the American ways from these neighbors the native-born moved away, because, as they said, "they did not want to live next to a Russian Jew."

So instances Mr. F. C. Butler, director of Americanization in the Federal Bureau of Education, in his just published bulletin on "Community Americanization." We have decried the failure, he points out, on the part of the new Americans to adopt the ways and standards of our land, quite forgetting that through our own aloofness they were not getting into contact with those customs.

How shall we atone for our aloofness? By community Americanization. Say John J. Mahoney and Charles M. Herlihy in their "First Steps in Americanization," "In communities where the American public has come to know the immigrant for what he is the problem of Americanization has been stripped of much of its difficulty."

To bring more such communities into being several things must be done.

One is to improve environment. This can be brought about by enforcing law requiring not only proper construction of dwellings but their proper maintenance; also by efficient municipal government—putting sewer and water main extension into parts of our cities and towns now neglected and by enforcing house connection with those sewers and mains; by frequent and regular collection of garbage, etc.

Another stage of progress is to provide for recreation. As Mr. Butler affirms, one of the great by-products of recreation is that "it brings not only the various foreign races together, but it does or should bring the native American into the melting-pot." Mr. Butler proceeds:

> Nothing will cause the latter to lose his deplorable exclusiveness and unfriendliness so quickly as to mix with the foreign-born people, learn to know them, see them in their beautiful dances and interesting games, and come to understand that they have many things which he has not.

Another benefit is to be found in the community center. This links itself with recreation, for there should be a public recreation hall in every community where the community forums, pageantry, sings, moving pictures, dances, and celebrations may be enjoyed. With regard to this Mr.

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"AMERICANIZED" (LEFT); THE FOREIGN BROTHER (RIGHT); THE MOTHER (CENTER)

Lane, ex-Secretary of the Interior, truly says:

> Each man is approachable in a different way, appealed to by very contradictory things. One man reaches America through a baseball game, another through a church, a saloon, a political meeting, a woman, a labor union, a picture gallery, or something new to eat. The difficulty is in finding the meeting-place where there is no fear, no favor, no ulterior motives, and above all, no soul-insulting patronage of poor by rich, of black by white, of younger by elder, of foreign-born by native-born, of the unco' bad by the unco' good. To meet this need the schoolhouse has been turned into a community center. It is a common property, or should be. All feel entitled to its use.

Then there is the necessity to protect the immigrant from imposition and exploitation. He, as Mr. Butler notes, is peculiarly at the mercy of the unscrupulous:

> Grafters . . . have met him at the very gate of the steamship wharfs and assessed him with fictitious fees. The hack driver has driven him around a block or two to his destination a few doors from where he started and charged him five prices. Employment agents, land swindlers, rooming-house bureaus—the immigrant has been the prey of the unprincipled of them all.

Later the foreign-born needs the assistance of some community legal aid society, for he does not know what his rights are or how to get them.

Immigrants are also at a disadvantage in securing employment. Community workers should create an employment bureau which will act before the municipal, State, and Federal employment bureaus get into action. Particularly in the matter of placing immigrants upon the land the community bureau should be helpful.

Again, where the immigrant desires naturalization the community might add immensely to the honor by holding receptions at which the new citizen should be presented with his papers. Mr. Butler writes:

> Such a ceremony may well be held twice a year, or at least annually. Many communities have adopted the permanent plan of holding a public reception, with suitable ceremonies, to all new citizens on the Fourth of July. Heretofore the foreign-born have taken out their citizenship papers with the same lack of ceremony that accompanies the issue of a dog license.

Then there is the principal problem confronting us—the cost of living. Mr. Butler notes:

> As a rule, the better and more dependable stores are not convenient to the foreign-born. Thus they are left to the mercy of hucksters and those keepers of small stores whose prices must necessarily be high because of the limited amount of their business. Community committees may therefore with great profit study ways and means of bringing the consumers among the foreign-born closer to the producers.

Finally, there is the necessity for all to learn English—the language of America. As Mr. Butler says, we must make facilities so easily available to every one that it will be within the power of every person to secure such an education.

The accompanying illustration shows a mother and two sons. All were foreign-born. But one of the sons has become an Americanized American. It is not hard to distinguish him from his brother.

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POLITICAL CULTURE

THE EDUCATIONAL BASIS OF AMERICANIZATION

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.

Mr. Gathany has, as our readers know, been for more than three years contributing to The Outlook a "Weekly Outline Study of Current History." He was formerly of the Hope Street High School, Providence, Rhode Island, and is now head of the Department of History and American Citizenship in the Scarborough School, Scarborough-on-Hudson, New York.—THE EDITORS.

POLITICAL culture is a matter that vitally concerns every man, woman, and child in America. The very framework of society is political. More than that, infinitely more, the welfare, the comfort, and the happiness of a people cannot be dissociated from politics, and no true advancement is possible independent of well-ordered government. In the last analysis, the only practical and effective way to dethrone oppressors and to liberate mankind from economic, social, and political bondage and keep mankind liberated is by way of intelligent control of public affairs. Escape is through the knowledge of how to use the agencies of a government properly organized. Where there is popular political intelligence inequality and injustice flee.

Various conditions are bringing to the forefront the question of genuine political culture as never before. The world is encompassed by perils—perils not so much of the heart as of the mind. Mutterings and rumblings of deep social, political, and economic discontent are distinctly heard. How close the United States itself may be to a social revolution no one knows. In our midst are Socialists, Industrial Workers of the World, Bolsheviki, Syndicalists, and Anarchists. They are here by the thousands. They possess strange and un-American ideas, and they have children—*thousands of children*. Then we have also labor-unionists and great masses of working people. And these have children—*millions of children*. These are not sticks of wood; all of them are human beings with human wants. The expression of their wishes may seem foolish, but their wishes are none the less real. No statesman, no agitator, created the forces and the movements these and their like represent. The ordinary lawmakers and politicians tell us either to ignore the ideas and wishes of these men and their families, or now and then to throw a sop to them to keep them quiet. But, somehow or other, we feel that it is not safe to ignore them and their wishes, for this is an ostrich attitude. The ostrich is a fool, because in the face of danger he sticks his head in the sand and thereby thinks himself safe. Neither is it safe to coerce the opinions of those who do not seem to think soundly on political and industrial questions, because history shows that coercion of opinion is a mistake. This is perhaps the most significant conclusion reached by the human race. On the other hand, it is not safe for democracy to accept all the ideas and programmes of action as now conceived by the various groups and organizations mentioned.

A real shortcoming and a primary danger lie in the fact that the political intelligence of the people has not kept pace with the opportunities for the exercise of political intelligence that have been granted to them. There has been extension of the franchise from time to time since the days of Washington, and in the near future all women, as well as all men, will have the right to vote. Also the means of direct lawmaking—lawmaking by the voters themselves—are becoming widely established. But there is no deliberate and extensive State or National programme thought out and advocated the aim of which would be intelligent and significant use of the franchise and the means of direct lawmaking.

There are those who wonder why such modern political devices as the initiative, the referendum, the recall, direct primaries, commission government, have not worked so well as was anticipated. The answer is not hard to find. These are merely political tools. And political tools can in themselves no more make a democracy than a tool-room full of hoes and cultivators can produce a crop of potatoes. Knowledge of how to use political devices intelligently and effectively is one of the essentials of democracy. History shows that revolutions are not in themselves bad, but really good. Only misdirected revolutions in the hands of misinformed revolutionists lead to violence and misery.

But political knowledge is not enough. For a citizen may possess a vast amount of knowledge with regard to the facts and the workings of our forms of government and our political machinery and yet be wholly untrained to do those things which make for good citizenship. The main function of education is not the imparting of information. The shaping of character is the end of education. Character is the means of social, political, and industrial salvation. We must purposely aim at the development of political ideals. Of this purpose no editor, no publicist, no political or social leader, no educator, no teacher, should be ashamed. If he does not champion this aim, he should be ashamed of himself and relinquish his field of activity. Political facts without political ideals do more harm than good. The German people, while not versed in political facts, yet were the most and the worst educated people in the world. Political learning in itself cannot and will not save a country from destruction. It is character—character made up of courage, discipline, and loftiness of purpose—that keeps a nation from Bolshevism, anarchy, militarism, and overweening nationalism and the institutions of a country from degenerating into rigid and meaningless formalism. Editors, publicists, and teachers should be, above everything else, moral mentors; never in reference to public questions should they be epicenes. The primary business of such people is to develop in those who constitute their audiences moral convictions on local, national, and international questions—convictions of such depth and power as will impel corresponding action. For it must be remembered that, after all is said, nothing is of permanent value except personal, national, and international morality. This is not difficult to point out. Who are the great men of history? Certainly not Metternich, Bismarck, and William II—masters of intrigue and deception, haters of parliaments and representative systems of government, princes of national and international immorality. Who are the great men of history? Isaiah—a voice crying, "Prepare ye the way of the people;" Cæsar—enemy of intrigue and despotism; Cromwell—defender of religious liberty, believer in the sovereignty of the people; Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi—champions of liberal ideas, great guardians of freedom; Lincoln—spokesman of democracy, lover of liberty, defender of freedom; Roosevelt—antagonist of privilege, enemy of intrenched wrongs, advocate of personal, national, and international morality. Do not the principles and the objects for which such men stand show to us the significance of political culture, and indicate why and how history should be taught?

Political culture also includes an appreciation of the origin and the spirit of our institutions. Whence did we get the foundation stones for the temple of American democracy? Whence the ideas of the right to protection of life and property, a fair trial and judgment by one's peers, participation in local self-government, freedom of speech, press, and assemblage, that punishments shall not be cruel and unusual, that fines shall not be excessive? Whence these and a list of liberties too long to enumerate? Our English ancestors struggled and fought for and won these things for us hundreds of years before there was a United States of America. The American colonists cherished and fought for the "immemorial rights of Englishmen," not of Americans. "Many Americans," says Professor Van Tyne, "seem to think that in some mysterious way Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and Patrick Henry invented them [the institutions of representative government] one morning before breakfast." Our narrow-minded text-book writers, our prejudiced journalists, and our no less narrow-

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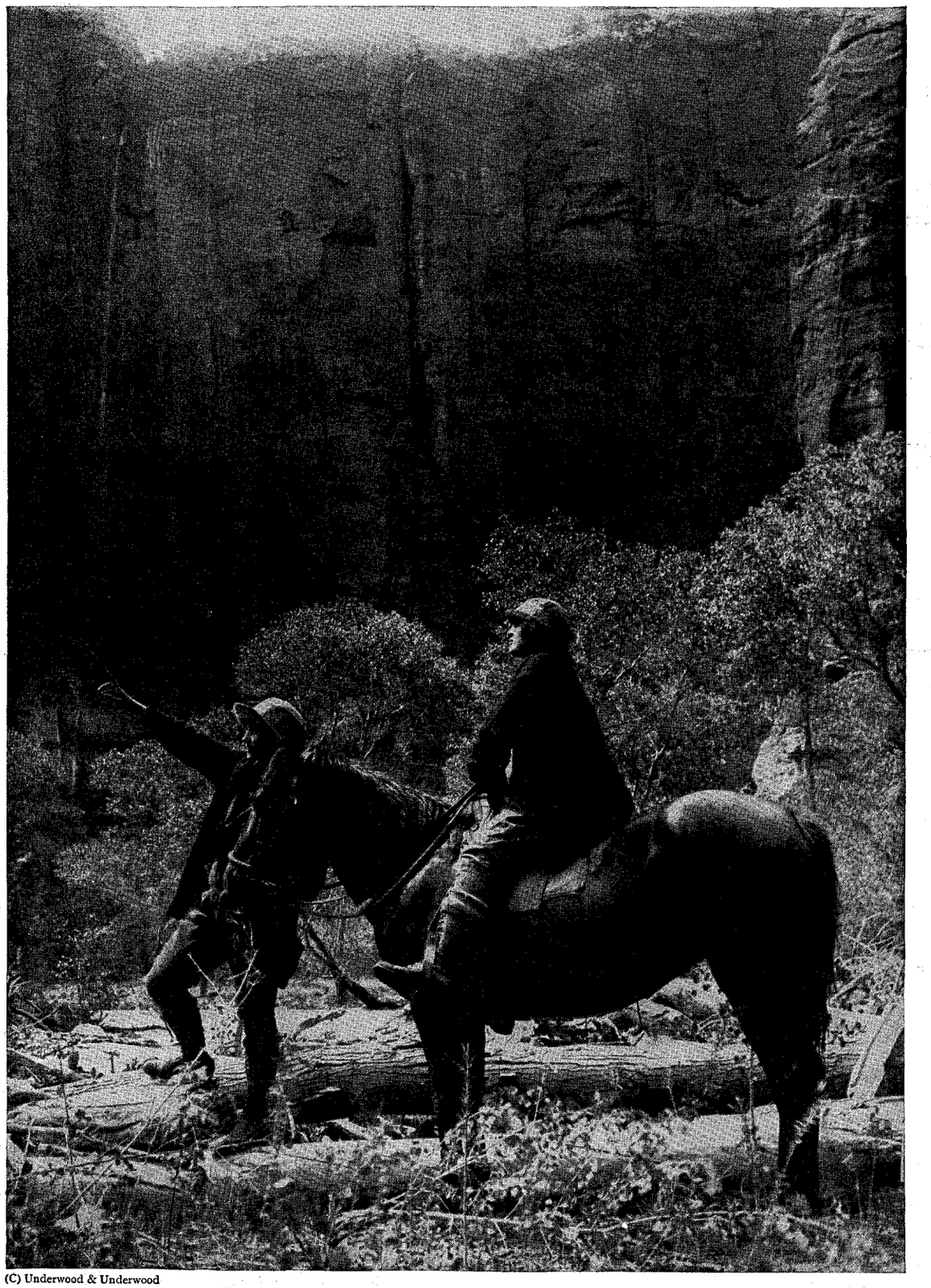

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THE NEW ZION NATIONAL PARK IN UTAH OPEN TO VISITORS

The picture shows two girl students from the University of Utah who, it is said, were the first visitors to make the entire trip through the new National Park when it was officially opened to tourists on May 15. A filmy waterfall, seen in the background, drops, it is said, 2,500 feet over the cliff

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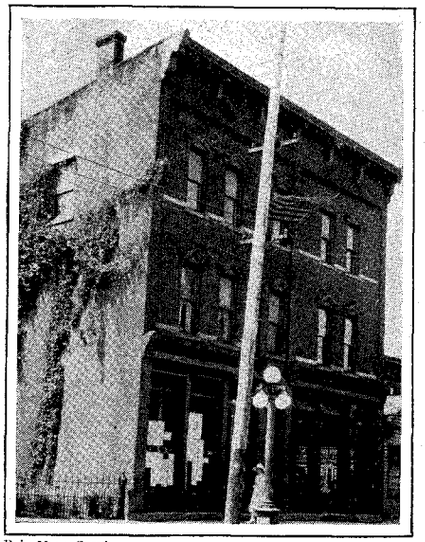

Bain News Service

"STAR" OFFICE IN MARION, OHIO—SENATOR HARDING'S NEWSPAPER

International, Courtesy Ohio State Journal

SENATOR HARDING'S BIRTHPLACE, NEAR BLOOMING GROVE, OHIO

The house was originally, it is stated, a log cabin, later covered with weather boarding

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ONE OF SENATOR HARDING'S RECREATIONS—ON THE GOLF LINKS

(C) Edmonston, Wide World Photos

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING, WIFE OF THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE

International

SENATOR HARDING RECEIVES CONGRATULATIONS FROM HIS ASSISTANT SECRETARY

International

GOVERNOR COOLIDGE, MRS. COOLIDGE, AND THEIR TWO SONS, CALVIN, JR., AND JOHN

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES AT HOME—SENATOR HARDING AND MRS. HARDING, GOVERNOR COOLIDGE AND HIS FAMILY

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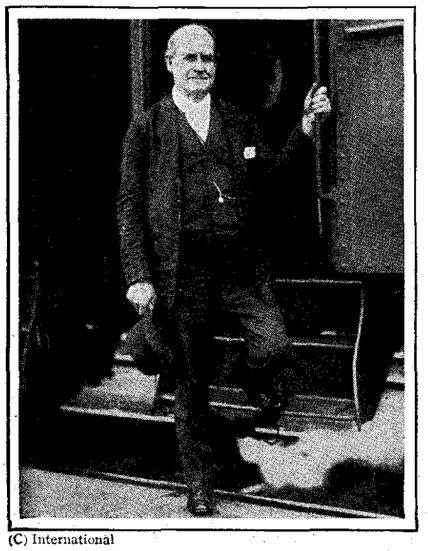
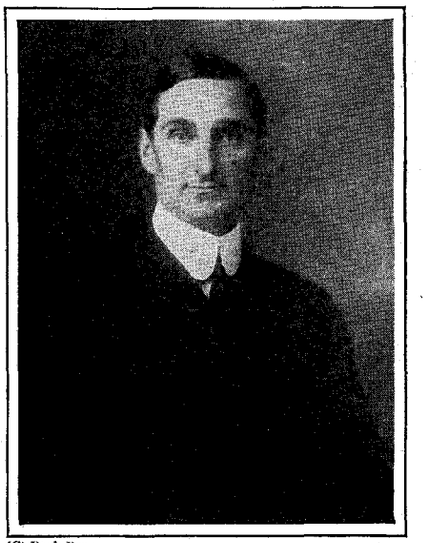
THE CIVIC AUDITORIUM, WHERE THE CONVENTION MEETS—A BUILDING SEATING OVER TEN THOUSAND PERSONS



(C) International

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

Mr. Bryan, needless to say, takes a prominent part in any Convention that he attends



(C) Pach Bros.

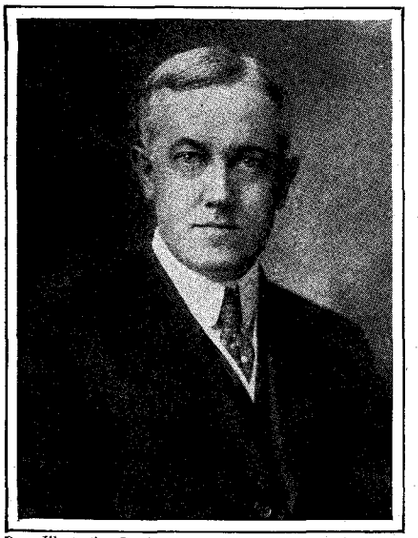
W. G. McADOO, EX-SEC. OF THE TREASURY

Mr. McAdoo has been a foremost candidate, but has withdrawn from the contest

Baker Art Gallery

JAMES M. COX, GOVERNOR OF OHIO

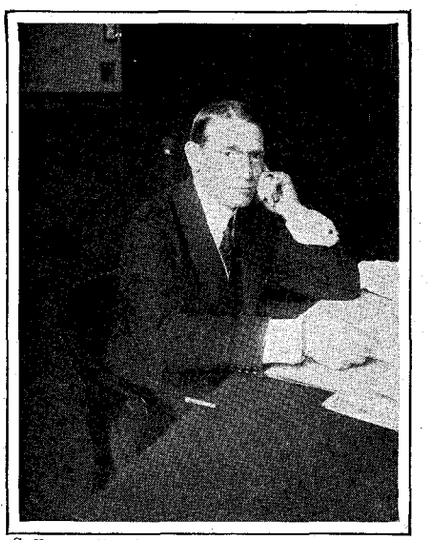
Governor Cox comes from the same "pivotal State" as the Republican nominee



Press Illustrating Service

JOHN W. DAVIS, AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN

Mr. Davis is a prominent candidate, and is warmly supported by the New York "Times"



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EDWARD I. EDWARDS, GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Edwards has the somewhat doubtful distinction of being the candidate of the "wets"

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ALFRED E. SMITH, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

Governor Smith is a Tammany man. He has a fine record as a public official

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION AT SAN FRANCISCO—THE MEETING-PLACE AND SOME PROMINENT DEMOCRATIC PERSONALITIES

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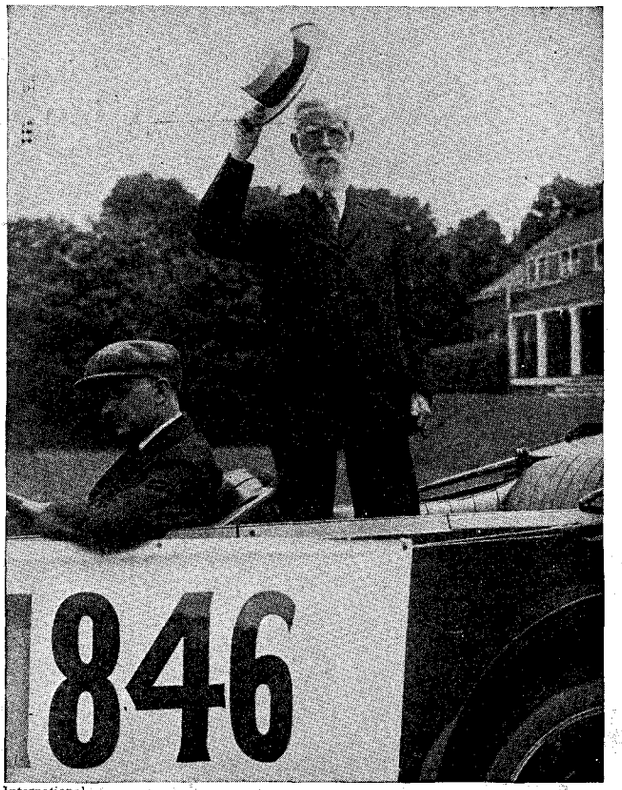
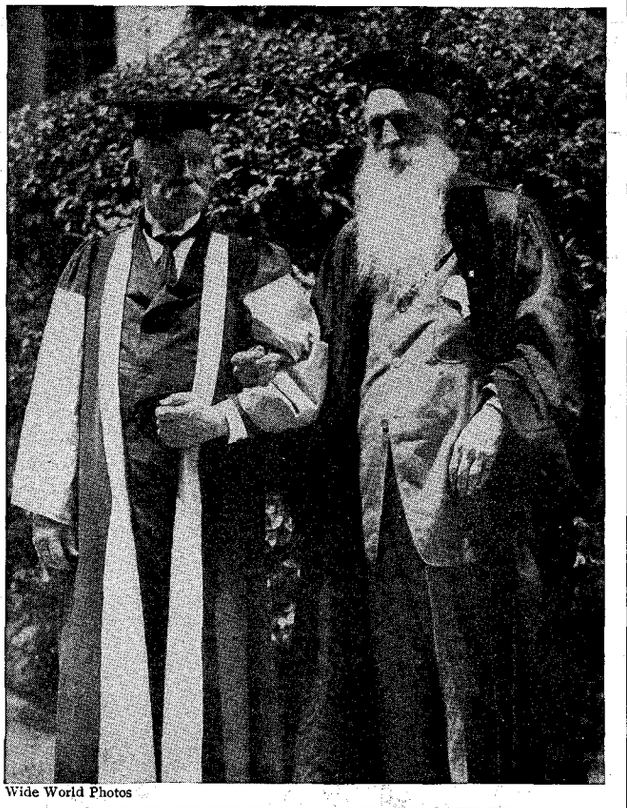


International

THE OLDEST PRINCETON ALUMNUS

Judge Bennet van Syckel, of Trenton, N. J., whose picture appears above, was graduated from Princeton in 1846. He is ninety years old

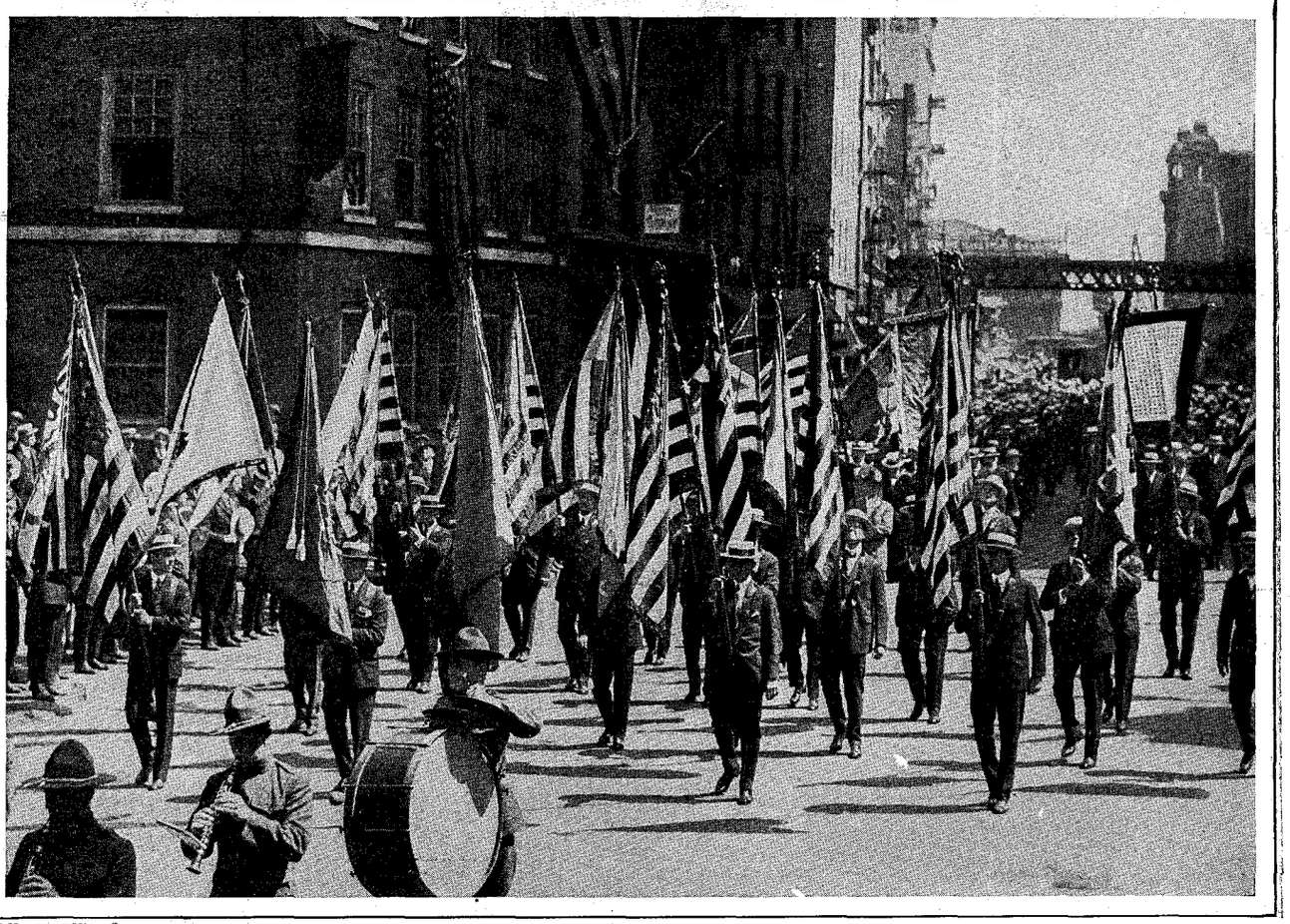


Wide World Photos

RAPHAEL PUMPELLY, EXPLORER AND SCIENTIST

Dr. Pumpelly (right) received the degree of LL.D. from Princeton at its Commencement, June 15. He is eighty-two years old

PRINCETON HONORS MEN IN WHOM THE SPIRIT OF YOUTH PERSISTS



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FLAG DAY IN NEW YORK CITY—SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION PARADE

The photograph shows the Color Guard nearing the Sub-Treasury, with the historic Fraunces's Tavern in the background. In this Tavern Washington bade farewell to his officers in 1783

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minded and prejudiced teachers, helped out by German and Irish immigrants, have taught every generation of Americans since the Revolutionary War to hate England. Some have done this teaching unconsciously, many deliberately. If the future peace of the world is to be guaranteed, it is high time that a National propaganda was inaugurated by text-book writers, authors, editors, journalists, public speakers, and the 600,000 teachers of our 25,000,000 American students to make clear to every one of our 100,000,000 American citizens that the civilizations of Great Britain and America are one and inseparable, that outside the indissoluble union of the English-speaking peoples there is no future except eternal discord and darkness. William II told the truth once, and that was when he said that the world war was a struggle for the survival of either German or British ideals. Civilization will now either survive or perish as the people of Great Britain and the people of America draw together or draw apart. In the last analysis, it was George III, a German—George III alone—who was responsible for the American Revolution. In the last analysis, it was Napoleon Bonaparte, another seeker for world dominion, who caused the War of 1812. The people of Great Britain have many a time fought the battles of the people of America, and almost every American institution rests squarely upon English background.

And since the Civil War especially we have failed to impart to Americans *the spirit of our institutions*. Is not this the reason why it is difficult, so very difficult, for adult Americans to tell what American ideals and Americanism are? Is not one of our most important tasks, one of our greatest problems, to get all Americans to appreciate that the spirit of our institutions is that there shall be nothing in our public life that is not governed by law, that there shall not be any absolutism of any sort, whether of government officials or of popular majorities? That not even the majority of the people can take away certain inherent rights possessed by the individual, that those who desire to make the government serve their own political theories and fortunes are enemies, not friends, of America? That equal rights, not equal conditions, that equal opportunity, not equality, shall be guaranteed? That the spirit of our institutions is that any group of persons, whether of the Bolsheviki, the Industrial Workers of the World, labor unions, or of respectable politicians, who either by special legislation or by direct action secure, or desire to secure, special advantages are also enemies of America? Does not the spirit of our institutions demand that all peoples everywhere shall have freedom and liberty, that "every arbitrary power anywhere" shall be destroyed? That it is the business of the United States to league itself with all liberty-loving and liberty-defending peoples to save the weak from the aggression of the strong, and to make it more difficult to declare war and easier to maintain peace? Are not all these things championed by the spirit of America?

What are some of the ways of bringing about an appreciation of historical and political knowledge and of political ideals, an enthusiasm for those ideals, and a comprehension of the spirit of our Constitution and institutions?

Certainly not by assuming that these things will be developed in the citizens of a democracy just because they are citizens of a democracy. Generally thus far we have acted as though we believed that democracy could *per se* create political intelligence, develop democratic ideals, and lead to democratic action. Such a conception of democracy is as erroneous as is the conception that a democratic form of government insures freedom, order, and self-government. Neither one of these things is true, as history liberally illustrates. Such things are guaranteed only by continued individual and organized effort.

Certainly not by continuing to teach history and government as they are now generally taught both in our colleges and in our public schools—merely as a great and wonderful accumulation of data, the learning of which is believed to be a necessary and valuable training for citizenship. Such a conception of these subjects and the teaching of them can at best be only a process of cramming facts as a substitute for the development of sound ideals and character. It is the forces, the ideals, the beliefs, the struggles, which have produced history and government, and not historical and governmental data, that must be made significant to the citizens of a democracy if they themselves are to think and act democratically. Such a conception of these subjects, if set to work, will guarantee that free government will become more and more an enlightening and liberating force in the affairs of the world.

Thus far the writer has hinted at several things that should be done in order to make democracy and the duties of those believing in democracy clearly understood. There are at least two other suggestions that ought to be made in any attempt to answer the question propounded in this article.

We Americans have heard that in times past there have lived in this great country of ours men named Patrick Henry, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Daniel Webster, John Marshall, James Monroe, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt. We are given to understand that they were great men and that they gave expression to great thoughts. We are *told* so. Authors and publicists write *about* them. The fact of the matter is that what these men wrote is a thousand times more interesting and important than the things we find written about them and their writings. Their expositions of democracy it is our duty to *study*. And when studies in their writings are conducted in an illuminating and thought-provoking manner, those engaged in these studies find themselves fascinated and gripped by the eternal principles of right and justice and democracy which these great men espoused. Various publishers of books are now selling handy volumes composed of the best selections from men such as have been named above. Into the hands of every young American we should put such volumes, and every one who is beyond school age should also buy these volumes and read and study their contents. This is one way, a very important way, to democratize democrats, to Americanize Americans, both native-born and naturalized, both young and old.

In the opinion of the writer—an opinion backed up by years of experience and close observation—the best way to make historical facts significant, to create and foster moral character and democratic ideals, and to comprehend the spirit of our institutions, is to make a careful study of current affairs. Upon reflection, this will be apparent to almost any one.

The past has meaning only when viewed in the light of the present. What significance can there possibly be in slavery except as it is contrasted with freedom, in autocracy except as it is contrasted with democracy, in freedom of thought except as it is contrasted with reason in prison? The study of current history makes historical data significant.

It does more than that. It tends to create and foster moral character and democratic ideals. All normal individuals are so constructed that when they make a study of the beliefs and actions of their fellow-men they instinctively pronounce judgment upon those beliefs and actions. After such study, mental and moral reaction lead those who have done the studying to say: "This is right, that is wrong;" "I believe this, I don't believe that;" "This is democratic, that is anti-democratic;" "This is what I should stand for, that is what I should not stand for." When matters of vital public concern are understood, the individual cannot remain mentally neutral, and this in turn means that he cannot remain morally flabby. Current history is packed with political, economic, social, and moral lessons for individuals and nations. And the writer has repeatedly noticed that students have remarkable and natural aptitude for and ability in pointing out the lessons America, or any other country, and individuals should learn from contemporary experiences. This phase of current history teaching alone should be argument enough why current events should be taught in all of our schools and colleges through periodicals that record and interpret the questions of the day.

But there is one other phase of the argument the writer cannot resist mentioning. The study of current history reveals the spirit of our institutions as no other subject can. It is with institutions as it is with individuals. No one can possibly tell with any degree of assurance and accuracy what the spirit of an individual is when he is static, sitting in a chair in the parlor. But when he talks and acts he necessarily discloses his attitude and

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spirit. Our institutions named and described in a text-book are in a static condition as far as the student is concerned. This is why the usual course in civil government is so uninteresting and deadening to the average pupil, and does so little for good citizenship. But let the student read what Americans and American institutions are actually doing, the problems they are trying to solve, the policies they are upholding, let him see our institutions and our leaders attacking actual concrete problems, and he will not only learn the facts which usually constitute a course in history and government; he will also learn what is infinitely more valuable, the services his country renders to him, the value of organized and orderly government, the spirit of the institutions that make his life safe and his property secure. In the study of current history he also learns why there is patriotism in jury service, in taking office, in voting, in paying taxes, and in thinking impartially, honestly, clearly, concerning the tasks and the duties of citizenship.

All that the writer has here set down is the actual testimony of young Americans engaged in the study of current history. Of this study they say, and I quote the actual words of pupils with whom I have come in contact: "Every time I study a lesson in current history I feel that I must make of myself as good a citizen as Uncle Sam wants me to be." "It shows how closely our lives are bound to public affairs." "It helps us to distinguish between true and false democracy." "It shows us how changes can be made without destroying organized society." "It gives us a good idea of what the ideals of American citizens should be." "By it we see the need of criticising public officials and proposed measures, and yet we see that criticism should be reasonable and just, resting upon facts and sound reasoning." "It shows the responsibility of the individual for clean and economical government." "I never really appreciated what Americanism was until we studied current history." "Not until I began to study current history did I realize how much our government did for us. This makes me feel that I ought to be a law-abiding citizen." "It makes me think all the time." "What our institutions mean is clearer to me now." "It shows us that we should be very careful of what we say about foreign nations."

The time for parlor education is past. These are days of reconstruction. Before next September steps should be taken to establish in every American college and university a chair in current history. Our teachers' colleges and our normal schools should by that time begin to teach teachers how to teach current history. And every grammar and high school student should be required to study the events of the day. Our twenty-five million students should study the problems of reconstruction, the ideals of democracy as set forth by the great men of the past, and the sayings of our editors and leaders on current affairs. Such is not parlor education, but education for significant knowledge, for patriotism, for high ideals, for noble action, for Americanism, for international good will. The great war for human freedom has made the youth of our land eager for this sort of education. Will our educational authorities and public school teachers rise to meet expectant America?

Succinctly put, the essentials of the programme for the teaching of American history and government are: *First*, a careful study of the origins of our institutions and ideals; *Second*, a painstaking analysis and interpretation of the expositions of our institutions and ideals as actually stated by our great leaders and thinkers, such as Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Marshall, Jackson, Webster, Lincoln, Roosevelt; *Third*, considerable time devoted to the reading of appropriately written biographies of such men as have been named; *Fourth*, a thoroughgoing study of current affairs, largely through magazines that record and interpret the events of the times. The last step, the climax of the entire programme, would be a concrete and practical study of American institutions and ideals *at work*, and it would be the dynamic means of bringing home realistically to Americans the function of these institutions and ideals in personal, National, and international life. In the opinion of the writer, only by such a programme of Americanization through education can America prepare herself to perform her function in the New World.

THE SQUARE PEG

A SERIES OF SIX STORIES

BY DONAL HAMILTON HAINES

IV—TRUTH

THE soundness of Trent's sleep prevented his at first hearing the ringing of his telephone. Earlier in the evening he had been for a long walk through the wind-swept suburbs, and then had read himself drowsy in front of an open fire. Gradually, however, the strident summons cut its way through his dreams.

Something in the steady, relentless quality of the bell's ringing prepared him for a sinister message. He had not glanced at his watch, but he knew that it was very late. And people do not call a lawyer in the dead of night without excellent cause.

"This is Hope Merton, Stephen," a woman's voice came over the wire when he answered. "We are in great trouble. Can you come to the house at once?"

"Of course," Trent answered instantly. "I'll be there in fifteen minutes at the outside."

He hung up the receiver and hurried back to his room to dress. Neither the message nor the tone in which it had been given furnished any suggestion of what had happened. The girl's words had indicated serious trouble of some sort, and yet her tone had been calm and steady enough.

"Of course it's Bobby," he muttered as he hurried downstairs while still buttoning his vest. "In the Merton household it is always Bobby."

As the Mertons lived no great way off, Trent did not bother to start his car, but went on foot. He paused once to assure himself that he had brought his checkbook, guessing that Bobby had done something a little more reckless and expensive than usual and might have to be bailed out. Yet something—perhaps merely the influence of the gloomy November night, its faint wind and thick clouds carrying a threat of approaching storm—made him feel that Hope would never have summoned him for one of her brother's ordinary scrapes.

Hope Merton herself opened the door to him, a tall, dark girl with regular features and that healthy pallor which never deserted her even on the tennis court or in the ballroom. A single glance showed Stephen that she had not been in bed.

"You were very good to come, Stephen," she said. "I telephoned you almost at once. It's Bob."

"I guessed that," he answered, with a faint smile.

She shook her head quickly.

"It's not like the other times," she said, giving him a straight look. "They have just telephoned us from police headquarters that he has been arrested on a charge of—murder."

Trent was thunderstruck, and for an instant he could only stare at her in horror.

"Of course," she continued, calmly, "there isn't the slightest question of his innocence or of proving it, and yet the mere accusation is terrifying. I am rather ashamed to confess it, but mother and I were simply helpless with sheer terror. I didn't begin to recover until I had called you."

"I shall go to headquarters at once," Trent said. "But first I want you to tell me everything you know. That may seem rather unfeeling, but I shall be able to

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serve you much better if I have all the available facts."

She nodded quietly, as though prepared for just such a request, and gave him without more urging the limited information in her possession. A man named Clepwood had been found dead near the River Street bridge. It was known that not long before this a quarrel had occurred between the man and her brother. The police had lost no time in arresting young Merton, and Hope intimated that they had done it for the sake of arresting somebody.

"It's perfectly absurd, of course," she finished, "because Bob was here most of the evening."

"But he wasn't here when they arrested him?"

"No. He went out a little before midnight."

"Do you mind telling me how he was dressed?" Trent asked.

At the unexpected question she gave him a startled look.

"Why, I didn't notice particularly. I think he wore a gray raincoat and a cap."

"I see. And you say that he spent most of the evening at home?"

"Yes," she answered, unhesitatingly.

"Why did he go out?"

"To mail a letter."

"And how long after that did the police notify you?"

"I'm not certain. More than an hour, I should say."

Trent sat for a few seconds looking at the floor. He was not quite ready to meet the girl's eyes, which he knew were upon him. When he looked up, his expression was blank enough.

"I shall go to headquarters at once," he said, rising. "I wish you'd follow your mother's example and try to get some rest. It's altogether probable that you'll have a hard day ahead of you."

"Of course you'll let us know the instant there's anything to tell?"

"Certainly. But you mustn't be worried at delays. These things go slowly."

He walked at a rapid pace until a corner hid him from the Merton windows, then stopped short and leaned against a fence which bordered the sidewalk, one hand rubbing his chin, his face somber. He was almost driven to the expedient of pinching himself to make sure that he was awake. The incidents of the past hour would have seemed sufficiently incredible had he been able to accept them with a perfectly open mind. But this was exactly what he had been unable to do.

For even before he had put his question he knew that he had seen Bobby Merton, dressed in a gray raincoat and a golf cap, no great way from the River Street bridge, long before the time at which Hope had said he left the house.

What shocked and distressed Stephen was not so much the conviction of young Merton's guilt as the certainty that Hope had lied to him. It was impossible to think of falsehood in connection with her. A lie on her lips was as unthinkable as the foulest blasphemy. The slightest trace of deception was so foreign to her nature that to conceive of her sitting there and deliberately spinning a fabric of lies to deceive him was beyond his powers.

"Why, in heaven's name, couldn't she have called somebody else, or I have been spared the sight of Bobby slinking along in that infernal gray coat?" he exclaimed under his breath.

There was no dodging the all too obvious truth. But for that chance glimpse of the gray-clad figure not two hundred yards from the scene of the crime he would never have suspected her statement; but as it was, he could not doubt. Everything pointed to Hope's knowledge of her brother's guilt—her calmness, the evidence that she had not been to bed, the readiness of her explanations, her mother's absence when Trent arrived. She must not merely have known that Bobby was guilty, but together they had actually planned in advance the story they would tell in case he was caught.

Trent had walked a few squares farther toward police headquarters when the logic of his reasoning brought him to this conclusion. Again his credulity revolted. He had finally forced himself to swallow the fact that the girl had lied to him, but this other admission was too much.

For the first time he succeeded in forcing his mind away from Hope's connection with the affair and looking at it from another angle. Clepwood! Who was the man? The name had a familiar ring, and yet it was some minutes before Stephen connected it with a man. Then he remembered walking with Eldredge, the editor, and passing a well-dressed man with a peculiarly evil eye, whose greeting Eldredge had acknowledged very curtly.

"There's a man," the editor had said, "who deserves hanging, but will probably die in his bed unless somebody murders him."

Trent's knowledge of the man's activities was limited to a few rumors. He was a gambler, and thought to be worse, but had thus far trod his evil paths with sufficient wariness so that he had no police record. Perfectly possible that Bobby Merton, whose follies were proverbial, had got into the clutches of such a man; just as certain that Hope would move heaven and earth to get him out—but murder, no!

At sight of the lighted windows of police headquarters Trent stopped short for the second time during the brief walk, and this time his hesitation was longer. He actually lighted a cigarette and smoked it in the shelter of a doorway. Before he entered that lighted doorway he had to fight a battle with his own conscience.

Few members of the Medford bar had shown themselves possessed of as much actual veneration for their profession as Stephen Trent, yet ever since his return to his native city nearly two years before his course had been anything but the conventional one for a young lawyer. He had invariably dodged cases in which law and ethics seemed ranged on opposite sides, and his effort had always seemed to be to make what was right agree with what was perfectly legal. For a time after he commenced his practice he had seemed to be the legal "square peg" he had called himself, but the city had come to understand the seeming oddities of his methods.

But now he was confronted by an issue more difficult than any he had hitherto faced, its complexity increased by the degree to which he found himself involved in its meshes. He believed that the man he had been asked to defend was guilty of murder, and he could not square an unpunished murder with his conscience. At the same time he believed in Hope Merton as he did in any of the sacred things of life. He felt that to find her base would be to shake his faith in creation. He could not even drive himself to admit that she would lie to save her brother from punishment unless there was infinitely more to the crime itself than appeared on the surface. If Bob Merton had killed Clepwood in impotent rage and fear born of a situation which his own folly had created, Hope would have been heartbroken, but Stephen did not believe that she would have lied.

"The question is this," he decided, as he tossed the stump of his cigarette onto the pavement. "Am I willing to set my faith in a good woman against the evidence of my senses? Can I bring myself to try and free a guilty man because I believe she knows facts which justify his act? If I find that I had misread her, I shall never try another case. Shall I take that risk?"

For another minute he stood staring at the street with unseeing eyes, then he left the shelter of the doorway and walked rapidly into the familiar atmosphere of police headquarters.

A word to the desk sergeant was enough to gain him admission to Merton's cell, and he followed a sleepy turnkey through gaunt, gray corridors to a barred door. Bob Merton, a big, upstanding young fellow from whose face the undoubted marks of dissipation had been unable to banish a certain boyish honesty and likeableness, rose with an exclamation of pleasure at Trent's appearance.

"I hoped they'd send you, Stephen!" he exclaimed.

Trent saw lying on the cot by Merton's side the very cap and overcoat which he knew he had seen slipping through the shadows of River Street earlier in the evening. He wasted no time in speculation or in conventional expressions of astonishment and regret, but sat down beside the young fellow and began a merciless questioning, determined to force a confession on the spot if it were possible.

To his surprise, Bobby was just as calm, candid, and sure of himself as Hope had been, and his story dovetailed perfectly with hers. He had spent the evening at home, reading and loafing about; had written two or three letters. Somewhere around midnight he had gone out to mail them. Feeling disinclined for bed, he had gone for a walk after posting the letters. The actual arrest had certainly not seemed like the action of a guilty man. He had

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wanted a match for his pipe and had crossed the street and asked one of a policeman he saw and recognized. The patrolman had asked him to go with him to headquarters without telling him for what he was wanted. That was all. And then Merton answered in advance the question Trent was about to ask.

"I don't mind saying I'd be a little worried if I hadn't been at home all the evening," he confessed, "because I did have a row with Clepwood. I'd have thrashed him within an inch of his life if they hadn't held me. What's more, I was crazy mad, and I guess I mouthed all sorts of dreadful threats. For Dorgan to arrest me when he found me prowling around the streets a few hours after Clepwood's body had been found was perfectly natural."

Trent stayed only long enough to put a few more questions. He had no interest in Merton's answers; he simply studied his manner, watched him like a hawk for the faintest sign of nervousness or uncertainty. Then he went back to the office and set about gathering more facts.

Here his discoveries were of a nature to have given him profound satisfaction but for his own knowledge. Clepwood's body had been found in a clump of bushes near the bridge about half-past twelve. There were signs of a struggle, and the man had evidently been choked to death. According to the physician who had viewed him, the man had been dead at least a couple of hours. The murderer had evidently made no effort to hide his work, although the nature of the spot might have allowed the dead man to remain undiscovered for some time. A man named Hopper, returning from rabbit shooting, had chanced to pass the spot and had investigated because of the strange actions of his dog.

The one peculiar circumstance was that, while there were finger-marks upon the dead man's throat, the physician had been struck by the fact that, although Clepwood was a vigorous man, he had been killed by no more pressure than would have choked the breath from a child.

"We haven't got much evidence yet, Mr. Trent," the police lieutenant told him, "but that'll come fast enough tomorrow. A dozen people heard Merton say he'd kill him. And you know yourself that he's been sliding deeper into the mud every week."

Trent had heard this, had known it, and had never been able to understand it. Bob Merton's dissipation had always been inexplicable to him. It was even now as he thought of the man he had left in the cell upstairs.

It was after four in the morning when he left the building. The wind was now sweeping the streets, driving a thin scud of rain before it. Stephen hesitated, wondering whether he ought to see Hope before going home. He finally decided against this, but went to his office instead of back to the house, breakfasting at a tiny lunch-counter on the way. Arrived at his desk, he dropped into a chair without even bothering to switch on a light or remove his hat and coat. Daylight found him in the same position. When the hands of his desk clock marked 6:30, he called the Merton house. Hope answered the telephone.

"I shall come up at once," he told her.

"Is there anything new?"

"Nothing that you don't already know," he answered, his choice of words deliberate.

Fifteen minutes later he was watching her face as he told her what had happened at the police station. His admiration for her poise was not unmixed with a species of fear. His conviction that she was not telling him the truth was merely strengthened by the discovery that she had no intention of doing so, and he knew that she would lie with the same undeviating, unflinching courage that she had always displayed. Moreover, he had allowed her course to shape his own; he was being dishonest in turn. She saw in him merely a trusted friend to whom she had turned for help. He was Bobby's defender, in her eyes. As a matter of fact, the task with which he had burdened himself was not Bobby's defense at all, but a merciless search for the truth. He had, in a way, thrown himself upon her mercy. Her ability to justify his belief in her could render his conduct defensible; otherwise his deception was infinitely worse than hers. The interview lasted half an hour, and left him baffled and wretched. He went back to the office dead tired and with a feeling of bitter hopelessness, and not until he was half-way there did he realize that he had not yet seen Mrs. Merton.

All day long Medford talked of nothing but the murder. Stephen kept the barrier of his office door between himself and the curious public. He did not want to talk, to have to hear others talk. He knew that Eldredge would come before noon, and welcomed the editor's appearance with relief. He listened to his friend's account of the case. The police had made no further progress; at least they would admit none. They believed that they had the right man; they were engaged in trying to gather fresh evidence against him, and were not wasting their energies in looking for another.

"You won't get him off, Stephen," Eldredge prophesied. "There isn't a man, woman, or child in Medford who doesn't wish he could go free, but this town is old-fashioned, puritanically relentless at the core. 'Thou shalt not kill!' You'll find that written at the back of every mind, and you won't be able to break that down. It's a dickens of a mess! That boy's got the finest mother and sister on earth. It'll kill them. I never knew people with more pride."

For fifteen minutes after the journalist had gone Trent wished that he hadn't come at all. His curt, impersonal judgment had been depressing, had increased Stephen's sense of being himself included in the threatening calamity. Then quite suddenly Eldredge's closing phrase commenced repeating itself in his mind—"I never knew people with more pride."

It was perfectly true. No family in Medford—where pride of race and position were the very breath of life—held their heads higher with better cause or more of that unconsciousness which is surely pride's most perfect justification. The Hon. Standish Merton had been a figure whose mere memory might serve as a source of pride to his family, even supposing them possessed of none of their own. Few of Medford's sons had won wider renown, had left a record more completely without stain. Something of this sense had surely been responsible for the attitude of Mrs. Merton and her daughter toward Bob's innumerable peccadilloes. They had evidently had a serene confidence that, given time, the Merton character was as sure to assert itself as the son was to shine; that no piece of careless lawlessness on the young fellow's part could possibly have any lasting effect.

Yet pride like Hope Merton's would have crumbled in the presence of her brother's crime, because that act itself would have proved her faith in him misplaced and without foundation. She would have fought in his behalf just as she was fighting now—but with bent head. And her pride was not broken; Stephen had never seen it more in evidence than during the two interviews he had had with her. Bob Merton's face, too, had been full of that sustaining emotion.

From that instant Trent's whole attitude changed. During the next forty-eight hours—all the time at his disposal before the coroner's inquest—he worked harder than he had ever worked in his life, not so much with the outward aspects of Merton's defense as with the secret side of it, at which he could still no more than guess.

At the end of those two days he seemed to have made no progress. He had seen Mrs. Merton, and knew why she had remained invisible on the night of the murder. She seemed a woman turned to stone. Hope had not dared let him see her. He had talked frequently with Bob and his sister, encountering the same impenetrable armor of a set and unflinching purpose. Both of them showed the strain, yet betrayed no sign of weakening.

The inquest was set for ten o'clock in the morning. At six Trent was in his office—his stenographer dismissed the night before—and his door locked against intrusion. He spent most of those four hours pacing back and forth across the floor of his room. He had constructed an edifice of theory which would explain everything, yet so flimsy a structure was it that he had not dared ask a single question. He was not even sure that, completely as his hypothesis satisfied him, it would convince any one else if he had to attempt its use in the face of opposition from his client or Hope.

And, finally, he knew that if the police had found a single witness who had seen Bob during those hours when he was supposed to have been at home nothing could save him.

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He had to struggle with a temptation to go to Bob or his sister, reveal his own knowledge, and beg them to confess everything, yet he did not dare take the risk. Both of them were being supported by a species of exaltation which had temporarily warped their judgment. Given time, they would infallibly continue the course upon which they had decided. Trent was counting on taking them off their guard, making his attack upon one of them suddenly but in the presence of the other, counting for success upon the demoralizing effect of a tremendous shock. And this could not possibly be accomplished until they were actually in the presence of the coroner and his jury.

It seemed to Stephen that he had never entered such an appalling atmosphere as that of the coroner's office. It was small and stuffy. There was room for no more than a handful of spectators besides the jury, the officers, and the newspaper men. Trent's eye made a swift, desperate search for witnesses. He saw no one but the man Hopper who had found the body, yet he knew that the closed door of the coroner's inner office might conceal half a dozen. Henderson, the chief of police, though one of Trent's good friends, was a shrewd fighter.

Never had he known so long a time required for extracting testimony from witnesses. It seemed to him that both the prosecutor and the men in the box dragged interminably over the most insignificant facts. He had never experienced so much difficulty in hanging onto himself. He wanted to shout at them to hurry through the formalities, to show him all that he had to meet, to let him have his chance and end the dreadful uncertainty that was killing three people in the room by inches. Yet presently the tension in his brain began to relax a little as he realized that at least a part of his fears had been groundless. If any other human being besides himself had seen Robert Merton on the night of the murder, the police had failed to find him.

When the moment arrived for calling Hope to the stand, Stephen took a long breath, and then it seemed to him that there were only three people in the room—the little coroner humped down in his big chair, the white-faced girl, and himself. His eyes never left her as she crossed the room, raised her hand to be sworn, and then sat down facing her. He left his own place and moved over so that he stood no more than a few feet from her before he uttered a word.

"Miss Merton," he said, slowly, "the oath you have just taken is insufficient for me, and I think for you—for all of us here. There is about it a certain tinge of ritualism, a formalness, a loss of real significance. By raising your right hand and repeating certain specified words you have satisfied the demands of the law. It has subjected you to a form; it can do no more to guarantee the honesty of what you shall say in answer to those questions which are asked you. It cannot possibly penetrate the human heart and witness those frightful struggles between conflicting emotions without which no significant words can ever be spoken."

The room had become horribly still. Trent's words had taken every one by surprise, had shocked them into silence and immobility. He knew that every eye was upon him, felt rather than saw Bob Merton leaning forward in his chair with cold horror in his eyes. But he hurried on inexorably before anything could possibly interrupt him, holding the girl before him with the merciless whip of his speech as a hypnotist holds his subject with his glance.

"No mere respect for the law," he continued, speaking with a measured swiftness, "can possibly turn the scale when thrown into the balance against those deeper and more intimate emotions which wring our souls. It is our duty to render the law something more than that mere lip service which it demands, to respond to the spirit rather than the letter of the oath just administered. The law does not seek the infliction of pain, it seeks the establishment and preservation of the unblemished truth, and in the face of that it becomes a sin, if not a crime, to place any obstacle—even that of silence—in its path. Affection, pride, that empty thing we sometimes mistake for honor—all these most precious human possessions are so many worthless baubles in contrast with raw truth.

"I am making this unusual appeal to you not from any apprehensions of what your answers will be nor from any feeling of insecurity lest you fail to appreciate the nature of your position, but because I feel oppressed by the same sensation which I know has gripped all of us, and yet in the midst of which I am so bitingly conscious that there is a shadow darker than that of death itself."

He allowed no more than two or three seconds to elapse, then asked suddenly and in a completely altered tone:

"Miss Merton, I should like to ask you where you were on the night of November 12."

"Don't answer, Hope."

The command came across the room with the abruptness of a pistol shot. From the corner of his eye Trent saw that the girl was on the edge of collapse, then his glance went swiftly to Bob Merton, who was on his feet, his eyes fairly blazing. Trent's voice cut in before an incipient confusion could more than manifest itself.

"If the court and the council for the people will consent," he said quickly, "I will withdraw my first witness without examination and call Robert Merton to the stand."

Since it was perfectly evident to every one that confession was on Merton's lips, Jackson, the prosecutor, could scarcely object. An instant later the accused man was taking the oath.

"I shall ask you no questions," Trent told him briefly. "I simply want you to tell everything—from the beginning."

"I killed Ed Clepwood," Merton said, quietly, "or rather I believe that he died with my hands on him. I don't suppose that's of any importance. I should have killed him if he hadn't died before I could. I grabbed him because he put his hand in his coat pocket, and I knew he carried a pistol.

"I can't pretend that I'm exactly sorry. For more than a year he has made my life a hell. My sister knew the truth. Nobody else knew it. Clepwood had letters which he claimed were written by—my father. I saw them. I believe they were forgeries, but they were devilishly clever ones. They were written to a woman. They—well, I can't talk about them. Six months ago I paid him five thousand dollars for the lot and burned them. A week later he told me that I'd burned merely copies. I thought he lied, but he gave me a glimpse of the others. He asked ten thousand dollars for them. I couldn't pay it. There was nothing for it but a ghastly compromise. I paid him so much a month for his silence.

"For the best part of six months I've been living his life, hounding him like a shadow. I didn't plan to kill him. I wanted to make myself do it, but—well, I couldn't. But it seemed to me that if I kept him always in sight he'd make the false step that would put him in my hands. I've tried no end of tricks to trap him into a position where I could get the letters. The other night was one of them. I'd lied to him, and he'd countered with a lie. He'd promised to bring the letters with him, but of course he hadn't done it. When I found he'd tricked me again, I went for him. The minute I moved he reached for his revolver and I grabbed him by the neck. I had no more than got my grip on him when he went limp in my hands, and I think he was dead when I let go of him. I was frightened as a kid who's broken somebody's window. I'd never seen a dead man before. I went home, and—well, that's about all."

Trent's glance went quickly from Merton to the prosecutor, then to the strained faces of the six members of the jury. He saw all that he sought, turned toward Hope and gave her the slightest of reassuring nods.

Later, while the jury was debating behind the door of the inner office, he had time for a word with her.

"I had to do it, Hope," he said in a quick whisper. "You see, I saw Bob that night and I knew you were hiding something. And I could see no way to make you tell the truth except to frighten both of you."

She caught his hand in both hers.

"It takes a very real friend, Stephen, to be as cruel as you were," she said.

When they were leaving the building later, Eldredge came up to Trent and took his arm.

"Young man," he said, in mock anger, "one or the other of us will have to go out of business. Since you came back to Medford my newspaper hasn't published a single thriller. You pretend to be a lawyer, but it strikes me that your real occupation is taking the wind out of my sails."

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THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

ALTHOUGH the author of this volume[1] was for three years associated with the publications of the Non-Partisan League and is still entirely friendly to that organization, and warns the readers of his possible bias, he has nevertheless written dispassionately and in good spirit and, on the whole, accurately. The Non-Partisan League movement of the Pacific Northwest, originating in North Dakota, is making a genuine piece of history, as the Populist movement did thirty years ago. According to the author, it is a more or less extreme reaction on the part of the average working farmers of the Northwest against the greedy spirit of industrial and political class control shown by certain commercial interests of the towns and cities.

Arthur C. Townley, just recently engaged in flying in an airplane from gathering to gathering of farmers in anticipation of the June primaries in North Dakota, is the "founder, builder, and directing genius." Mr. Gaston shows how Townley reflects in his philosophy the attitude of mind, the aims and hopes, of the great body of farmers of the Northwestern section of the United States. The object of the founder of the League was to secure through political action economic relief for exploited and oppressed tillers of the soil, first in North Dakota and then in the outlying States of the neighborhood.

Non-Partisan Leagueism and Townley have had the brand of Socialism put on them by their foes. The grounds for this are, first, that Townley, earlier in his career, was a member of the Socialist party in North Dakota, and when he left the party for a more practical form of effort took with him the methods of propagandism and the best of the workers of the Socialist party into the Non-Partisan League movement. Also the chief measures put into operation when the League got into power in North Dakota carried the stamp of collective ownership and operation, a few of them to an extreme degree. State-owned terminal grain elevators and flour mills, packing-houses and cold-storage plants, State hail insurance, rural credit, and banks operated at cost, are on the programme, as well as State-owned newspapers and publishing houses.

"An idea, a Ford, and sixteen dollars" built the Non-Partisan League; an organized and reasoned opposition to the ruling order, Ford cars to "sell" the idea far and wide, and sixteen dollars dues. The original center of the political disturbance, North Dakota, has Norwegians as the core of its population; a tough, hardy race, admirably suited to meet the strong natural obstacles of this Northwestern commonwealth. That State has an intense growing season and a long, hard winter. The pioneers were separated from each other by the size of their holdings in the summer and in the winter by the northwest blizzards. They therefore did not quickly develop political sympathy. For many years the settlers were busy with their livelihood and government was in the control of a few leaders who resided in the towns. The State was not stirred by the earlier Granger movements. For a long time the native American stock in the towns held office and manipulated affairs. The railways were the overshadowing financial and political influence, and the economic and social conditions in the State gave the long-time boss, Alexander McKenzie, his opportunity. The general electorate woke up only ten or fifteen years ago to fight, first for the direct primary and popular election of United States Senators and a State Railway Commission, and then they looked into their own economic condition.

The farmers in the spring wheat country had been more or less subject to economic difficulty and exploitation. They had large families, their crops failed from rust and drought; in the winter they endured intense cold and isolation, and they were subject to a high-interest rate from the money-lenders and extortion from the railways. Upon mortgages they paid from 12 to 15 per cent, and very high prices for merchandise sold on credit. At first the farmers tried co-operative local grain elevators to meet the alleged extortion of the private elevator companies controlled by the railways. The private companies, helped by the sympathy of the local bankers, which was withheld from the co-operatives, soon put the farmers' companies out of business, and the growers of wheat began to cry out against the "handlers' profits" and demand ownership by the State of the terminal elevators. The State Government appeared to be in the hands of the bankers, lawyers, and professional politicians, and the farmers could get no relief.

In the emergency, professors at the State Agricultural College proved to be economic leaders. They pointed out that the mixing of grain and the growing of grain were cunningly devised with the aid of the inspectors, who were the appointees of the politicians, so that the farmers got the worst of it. Instead of milling and feeding the by-products of the grain in the State, it was shipped out, with great economic loss. Thereupon the Equity Society was started—a co-operative effort both for buying and selling. By initiative and referendum also the farmers voted by a large majority for State-owned elevators, but the politicians would not carry out the mandate and the legislators would not vote the appropriations.

And then Townley came upon the scene; a failure in flax-farming, but a whirlwind in human organization of the agricultural class. The League started with a group in McHenry County, American-born for the most part. The farmers point to this fact when their enemies shout from the housetops that the League is alien propaganda. As a matter of fact, the foreign-born in the State were for a long time hard to reach. The State was in a condition of "beggarly subservience" through "tainted news" and a "kept press." How Bourbonism and fanaticism are opposite poles of the same thing is illustrated by the fact that where the Leaguers are in power they demand a "kept press" for themselves in the State capital and every county of the commonwealth. However, their first great organ, the "Non-Partisan Leader," fulfilled a real mission and was so intelligent as a newspaper, so thoroughly conversant with the need and aspiration of the average working farmer, that it was read from cover to cover and effectually reduced the influence of the controlled press over the thought of the agricultural population.

Their commercial enemies of the towns were not backward in coming to the attack with publicity of their own. The State was warned against the "smooth strangers" in the Ford cars who were getting the farmers' money. The movement everywhere was advertised as Socialism. The followers of the movement were represented to be atheists, free-lovers, and Anarchists.

The League's defense against all charges was to attack "the old gang." A comprehensive series of meetings was organized during the winter months, and many great picnics in the summer-time. There was widespread development of new oratory among the leaders of the farmers. "Smooth strangers" in Ford cars raced into every corner of the commonwealth.

Then came the revolutionary political overturn of 1916, when, in the face of great obstacles, including a cloudburst and prolonged rain, the farmers of North Dakota went into the June primaries of the Republican party, took the organization away from the "old gang," and elected their Governor, their State officers, even the judges of their highest court.

"We have worked along the 'more production' line long enough and let the profit and business end go. We must now work for a fairer share of the wealth we produce. That, I understand, is the ultimate end of this organization," said President Worst, of the Agricultural College, who had just been dismissed by the "old gang."

When the Leaguers were seated in power at Bismarck, the important issue was the amendment of the State Constitution so as to make possible the enactment into law of the various items of the League's programme. After so many years of delay, the farmers demanded speedy action, and the existing method required three years of preliminaries to amend the Constitution. So a new plan was devised in House Bill 44, to pass a new Constitution and write into it all of the old that was important and enough that was new to carry out the plans of the League, the whole to be submitted at once to the people and passed upon without delay.

This short cut to freedom galvanized into life all the natural conservatism that there was in the State. The impassioned hysteria which was gathering displayed itself very humorously over the revision of a paragraph relating to the schools. The substance of the change from the old to the new Constitution was that two-thirds of the language was eliminated without seemingly any reduction in the purpose of the paragraph or its legal force. But the critics of the League alleged that nothing less was intended by the revision than an assault upon education, patriotism, morality, and integrity.

The old Constitution read:

> A high degree of intelligence, patriotism, integrity, and morality on the part of every voter in a government by the people being necessary to insure the continuance of that government and the prosperity and happiness of the people, the Legislative Assembly shall make provision for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools which shall

[1] The Non-Partisan League. By Herbert E. Gaston. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York City.

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be open to all of the people of North Dakota and free from sectarian control.

As changed the section read:

> The Legislative Assembly shall make provision for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools which shall be open to all children of the State of North Dakota and free from sectarian control.

A representative from the towns thus hectically expressed upon the floor of the House his view of this revision:

> I say this change in this section was made designedly, and I cannot pass it by without making the statement that to my mind those changes represent the malicious cut of a poisoned dagger of treason and licentiousness held in the secret hand of disloyalty and hate; that the hand that penned those lines and deliberately made that change would put poison in the wells in front of the country's armies, or would lead a little sister to the brothel.

In 1917 National headquarters were opened in St. Paul, Minnesota, and preparations were made for the spreading of the new evangel. Campaigns were opened in Idaho, Washington, Colorado, Montana, and other States. In none of them has the work moved as swiftly as in North Dakota, unless it be Minnesota. The extended territory and enlarged administration brought new problems, and the conditions were not generally so opportune as in North Dakota. In North Dakota political machinery had utterly failed to function, and the farmers had rushed to Townley's League as at least a possible solution of their troubles.

President Wilson was elected in 1916 on an anti-war wave, and North Dakota cast its electoral vote for him, and was decidedly pacifist in her leanings. Townleyism and the Non-Partisan League reflected this atmosphere of the commonwealth even after our entrance into the war, and laid great critical emphasis on the alleged profiteering of certain powerful groups in the period before the war and during the war. The view that the League brand of patriotism was not the hundred per cent variety has been widely disseminated in the country. Mr. Gaston's book undertakes to combat this view. He holds that all the truth there is in it is easily understandable in terms of the actual temper of mind of the Northwest population at the period. This was intensified by the suspicion of capitalism which was inherent in the experience of the farming population of the Northwest. It was easy for them to be sincerely misled by any evidence of the relation of economic commercialism to the great struggle. Besides, the Liberty Loan campaigns, towards which the League is supposed to have been lukewarm, were in the hands of bankers who were sworn political enemies of the League. These local financial powers are alleged to have taken advantage of their position to attack the League, to attribute disloyalty, to spurn the co-operation of the League in patriotic effort. On the other hand, the League's opponents charged that the farmers' organization was obstructing enlistments and interfering with loans; that the League was not eager to press the war, that its arms were wide open for peace on Wilson's terms. Mr. Gaston holds that the League was simply against the secret treaties, and agreed with President Wilson that if the war aims of the United States were put into explicit terms and agreed upon by the Allies their statement would hasten the coming peace and would be an aid to military victory.

The probable truth is that, as the result of the fierce political and class revolution then going on in the Northwest, the North Dakota method of winning the war was about as effective as the California method of winning the Presidency for Hughes in 1916.

There is no doubt that the progress of the League movement was checked by the war patriotism, and by the feeling that the League was not as loyal as it might have been. The spirit of heresy hunting, which has shown itself in other parts of the United States, appeared also in the League areas, and "patrioteering," according to Mr. Gaston, took its spite out on League organizers who were at all prominent during the high tide of the war psychology. Townley was arrested, tried, convicted, and his case is now on appeal. Vast bitterness grew out of the charges and counter-charges of State political influence brought to bear during the trial.

The Republican organization in North Dakota being fairly strong in League hands, political effort has now been transferred to the State of Minnesota. In 1918 the League candidate for Governor had a very large vote in Minnesota, and the Presidential contest in that State for 1920 hinges more upon the conflict between the Republican farmer and laborer on the one side, and the ruling Republican machine and the commercial interests of the twin cities on the other, than upon any other matter whatsoever.

Whether the League has recovered sufficiently from the setback of the war and the reproach of some of its recent legislative policies to win a decisive victory in a great commonwealth like Minnesota is doubtful. But if it does win, it will be far on its way to impress its ideas upon the population of the Northwest and upon the Republican party in that great section of America.

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

Ladyfingers. By Jackson Gregory. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Mr. Gregory has a fresh and vigorous way of writing. "Ladyfingers" (so named because of his delicacy of touch in manipulating safe combinations) is a poetic and romantic burglar who has made himself a gentleman (outside of his professional work) because of his mother's influence in his young boyhood. In the end he puts himself straight with the world and with the girl who loves him by surrendering to the law and serving a penal sentence.

No. 26 Jayne Street. By Mary Austin. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Radicals, sociologists, theorists, and reformers generally cluster around this little center in a New York City byway. The author mingles romance with social philosophy in an acceptable way and entertains her readers as well as makes them think of problems of the day and the future.

Mrs. Warren's Daughter. By Sir Harry Johnston. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This novel follows the singular method of the author's "Gay-Dombeys." As he there followed out the characters of Dickens's "Dombey and Son" through descendants and connections, and with Water Gay and Florence Dombey (Dickens's young lovers) still living as serene heads of a widely ramified tribe, so here he presents the daughter of the odious woman of Bernard Shaw's "Mrs. Warren's Profession." For this he had Shaw's permission, but evidently not his collaboration, for the Vivien Warren of this novel neither thinks, talks, nor acts like Shaw's Vivien. As in the "Gay-Dombeys," living notables of our day are introduced by name and others (we judge) under camouflage. The interest is of a queer nature, but it certainly exists. Largely, the book is a study of feminism in England.

Third Window (The). By Anne Douglas Sedgwick (Mrs. Basil de Sélincourt). Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

The dangerous side of psychism is seen here in the piteous anguish of the young war widow who loves a second time, but feels that her dead officer-husband will feel in the spirit world that she has betrayed his enduring love. Another woman, partly through real mediumistic power, partly through falsehood, so works on the widow's mind that she finds refuge in death. Somber in theme, the story is written with exquisite delicacy and grasping strength.

Unlatched Door (The). By Lee Thayer. The Century Company, New York.

"A combined love and mystery story set in New York City, which the author knows and loves with the intimacy of an old inhabitant."

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

In the Great Apache Forest. By James Willard Schultz. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

This story of the adventures of a Boy Scout in Arizona will please all boys who love to read of Western life; the accounts of firebugs, army deserters, Indians, and bear-hunting are thrilling and well told.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

On a Passing Frontier. By Frank B. Linderman. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

These glimpses of past or passing phases of life in Montana get a sure grip on the reader, in spite of their somber quality. Bad men, bad language, and bad whisky figure prominently in the sketches, but most of the experiences ring true. The reader is fascinated, but feels glad that this kind of frontier life is now found mainly in books.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Of the Imitation of Christ. Four Books. By Thomas à Kempis. The "Edith Cavell" Edition. Introduction by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Herbert E. Ryle, D.D., C.V.O. Oxford University Press, New York.

A singular and pathetic interest attaches to this little edition. It is a facsimile of the copy that belonged to Edith Cavell. She had it with her in her prison and marked many passages that she found comforting, in some instances giving the date, the last being the day upon which she was told that she was to be shot the next morning. This facsimile edition shows Miss Cavell's marks. Bishop Ryle's foreword gives references to the pages on which the passages are to be found; it also tells, in a moving way, though briefly, the story of Edith Cavell's life and death.

WAR BOOKS

Human Costs of the War (The). By Homer Folks. Illustrated. Harper & Brothers, New York.

The after effects of the war are here presented in a telling way by Mr. Folks, who knows how to humanize statistics and make them yield up their hidden story of misery or hope. The book is one to rouse us to our utmost effort to meet our responsibilities in the reclamation of the peoples that are struggling to regain their feet.

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THIS WEEK'S OUTLOOK

A WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY[1]

BY J. MADISON GATHANY

SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

During July and August these weekly comments and questions upon current topics, conducted by Mr. J. Madison Gathany, will be discontinued. Mr. Gathany has accepted The Outlook's proposal that he should make a personal study during the summer of farm conditions on the North Atlantic seaboard, with personal interviews with farmers and farm workers. Beginning about the first of September, The Outlook will publish a group of articles giving the result of the first-hand impressions Mr. Gathany receives from such interviews with farmers in the New England States, New York, and Pennsylvania. These articles will be published under the general heading "What is the Matter with Eastern Farming?"

The "Outline Study of Current History" will appear again weekly in The Outlook beginning with the first issue of September.—THE EDITORS.

The New Puritanism

IS there any difference between the Puritans and the Pilgrims? From what sources did the Puritans get their ideas of life and religion? What were the Pilgrims before they came to our shores?

Orthodox Christians are not apt to believe that "theology is necessarily run into the same mold as that of the current philosophy of the day." Dr. Abbott does. Which seems to you to be right, the orthodox Christian or Dr. Abbott?

What, according to this article, is meant by the New Puritanism? How does it differ from the old Puritanism? Is there any great need of the New Puritanism?

Do you accept John Austin's definition of law or the view of law as advocated by the New Puritanism? What are your reasons? In connection with the view of law as set forth in this article by Dr. Abbott you will find an interesting and valuable discussion of the origin and sources of law and various views of it in "The Nature and Sources of the Law," by J. C. Gray (Columbia University Press).

Do you think it right to regard Jesus as a lawgiver? Does Dr. Abbott think he is? Historians sometimes speak of Moses, Draco, and Justinian as lawgivers. Compare their ideas of law with those held by Jesus.

In connection with this study you will do well to read "The Pilgrims and Their History," by R. G. Usher (Macmillan).

Explain the meaning of the following terms: *Theology, the laws of nature, the moral law, the Decalogue, repudiate, creeds, canons, Amiel.*

President Wilson and the Democrats

Which one of the Democratic candidates for the nomination do you think would make the best President? Explain your answer.

What would you think of President Wilson becoming the Democratic nominee for re-election?

President Wilson evidently thinks that the issue of the coming campaign is the question of the United States joining the League of Nations as advocated by himself. Is this, in your opinion, the issue? In reaching a conclusion, consider the editorial on "The Two American Parties."

In the light of what the Republican Convention did at Chicago, and the platform it adopted, what do you think it would be wise for the Democrats to do at San Francisco? Is there "a golden chance" for the Democrats owing to the action of the Republicans?

Is there sufficient evidence to justify one in believing that National party conventions are not truly representative of popular will? Has the popular will ever worked its way through the machinery of the National conventions?

The following-named books are very useful ones for those interested in party affairs: "The Boss and the Machine," by S. P. Orth (Yale University Press); "Introduction to the Study of the Government of Modern States," by W. F. Willoughby (Century Co.); "The State," by Woodrow Wilson (D. C. Heath).

What is your definition for *The Administration, Republican, Democrat, the "old line" Democrats, "highbrow" sentiment, deadlock?*

Rotten Borough Representation; The Two American Parties

If the Republicans are so shocked at the rotten borough system, as Senator Davenport says they are, why don't they kick it into the Gulf of Mexico?

What would you think of a plan by which each delegate should represent a certain number of Republican voters? What would you make the minimum number below which there would be no delegates to the National conventions?

Do you care which party gets control of National affairs? Do you personally know of many people who are particularly interested in party politics? If so, why, in your opinion, are they?

Is the Democratic party a party of theory and visions? In the last seven years has it shown itself a party of action? Prove what you say.

Do you think America will remain a two-party country? What are your reasons?

An Efficient Citizen

Would you care to be a man like George W. Perkins? Do you want to be a rich man? If so, would you use your time and money as Mr. Perkins used his time and money?

Do you think it an advantage for a boy to begin his life-work at fifteen years of age, as Mr. Perkins did, instead of going to high school and college and beginning it at twenty-five?

Do you know any other rich man who has planned his life more intelligently than did Mr. Perkins? If so, name him and tell what he has done.

[1] These questions and comments are designed not only for the use of current events classes and clubs, debating societies, teachers of history and English, and the like, but also for discussion in the home and for suggestions to any reader who desires to study current affairs as well as to read about them. —THE EDITORS.

BY THE WAY

A transcontinental trip in an automobile need not be expensive, according to a writer in the "Rural New Yorker" who has made the journey. His total expenses for a party of two, including gasoline, oil, repairs, food, etc., were under $200, "and our car was apparently as good as new when we reached Los Angeles, not even having a puncture." Many towns, he says, provide free camping grounds for tourists, supplying them with water, wood, fireplaces, registration booths, etc. "At such places there are frequently twenty-five or more cars parked each night, and the different groups preparing supper by the blazing fires and rehearsing the day's adventures make a pleasing sight."

That serious biographical work with the semi-humorous title, "Who's Who," which has been published in England annually for over a score of years, is to have a companion volume, or compendium, entitled "Who Was Who, 1897–1916," which will contain the biographies, taken from "Who's Who," of people who have died during the twenty years covered by the volume.

John Burroughs, in a recent talk at the Battle Creek Sanitarium, said that he had never used tobacco, tea, coffee, or whisky, and had been a small meat eater. "But," he said, "hereafter I shall not eat meat at all. I think one can get enough to eat without eating fish or meat." Perhaps to Mr. Burroughs's abstemiousness is due the fact that at the age of eighty-three his nerves are so steady that he can shoot a woodchuck at one hundred yards with a rifle—"not all the time," he admits, "but I get most of them at that distance."

"Since 1890," says a history of Illinois, "the State of Illinois has held first rank in the United States as a producer of agricultural implements. Within the State Chicago ranks first as the seat of this manufacture. This high rank is due chiefly to the extensive manufacture of harvesting machines, in which it leads all cities and indeed all states in the world. Moline ranks as the second city in Illinois in its manufactures of agricultural implements."

Vice-President Stevenson had the reputation of adapting himself cleverly to every situation. A story told of him by Judge Ewing, of Texas, illustrates this trait. On a trip through the West the Vice-President spoke thus to the crowd at a Missouri station: "My friends, since coming into Missouri and looking into your most intelligent faces and seeing the prosperity that you enjoy, I have determined that if I ever change my place of residence I shall adopt yours." With slight changes he made the same speech in Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico. In Arizona, however, at one place the only people to greet the party were a group of half-naked Indians, the temperature being 130 degrees in the shade. "I thought the old man would fail there," said Judge Ewing, "but he came right to the front, looked down at those Indians with their blankets, and said: 'My friends, since coming to Arizona and looking upon you, I have decided that if I ever change my style of dress I will adopt yours.'"

The people of the United States will probably spend a billion dollars for amusements during the current year, according

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to estimates based on the tax returns at the office of the Collector of Internal Revenue. A considerable proportion of this unprecedented sum will no doubt consist of money diverted from the saloons, which formerly furnished a free outlet for the cash that burns in the pockets of the man in the street in his leisure hours.

On a transatlantic steamship that recently arrived in New York Harbor, a "Times" reporter says, one incident came near marring the voyage. The stewards in a body complained that their quarters were insanitary and uncomfortable and threatened to strike. "The matter was finally adjusted by the line reserving for the use of the men a part of the first class. This is the first time, it is believed, that members of a steamship's crew have ever traveled first class."

A Harvard student, Carl S. Joslyn, who won a $6,000 prize for the best Republican party platform, is said to be working his way through the University. He will not enter politics. "The teaching profession," he says, "interests me much more at present."

The new Cunarder Scythia, according to an English newspaper, is to have only one funnel, for all her 20,000 tons. Time was when a liner's standing was in direct ratio with the number of her funnels. Four funnels indicated A1 rank. One famous steamship was, it is said, equipped with an unnecessary fourth funnel simply for appearance' sake. But now, it seems, the funnels are to go, for only one is really necessary.

The great Krupp works at Essen are transforming their munitions business into one of peaceful manufacturing. The London "Economist" says that the concern is buying up various lines of manufacture, its latest acquisitions being a large dredger-building business and a motion-picture works.

From "Simplicissimus," of Munich:

Mistress—"What! Leaving? You have only been here two days! What dissatisfies you?"

"Your forks are four-pronged instead of three-pronged. It makes too much work for me."

From "Karikaturen," Christiania, Norway:

"Petersen is going on a yachting trip with some friends, and his wife is assisting.

"Wife—'Did you send the provisions?'

"'Yes. Fifty bottles beer, two of brandy, four of whisky, thirty seltzers, and two loaves.'

"'But what will you do with all that bread?'"

From "Fliegende Blaetter," of Munich:

Teacher—"Who can tell me why the cuckoo lays its eggs in other birds' nests?"

Alert Pupil—"Because of the house shortage."

The old-time flavor of journalistic personalities is brought back to the reader's palate by this item in a Western daily paper:

> Huntley, of the Frazee "Press," wants the owner to call at the office and get a bunch of keys. Evidently Sid has discovered that the keys don't open the way to anything in particular.

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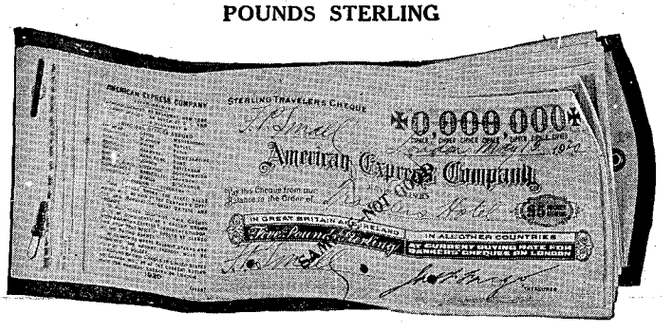

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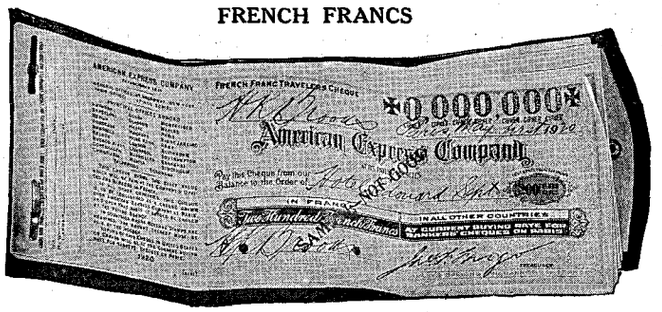

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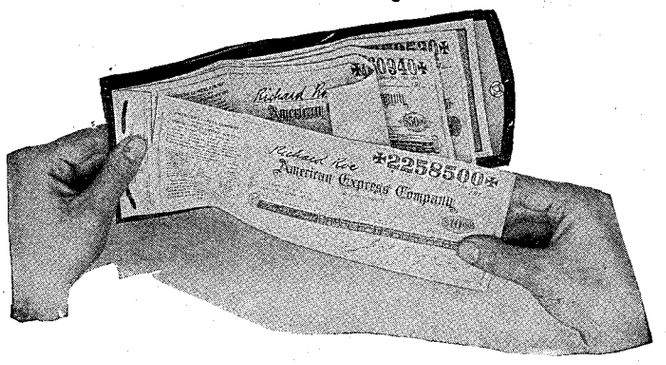

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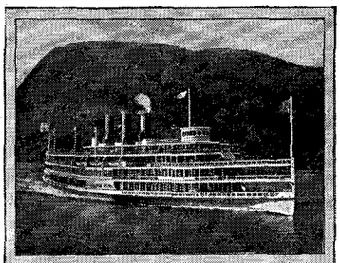

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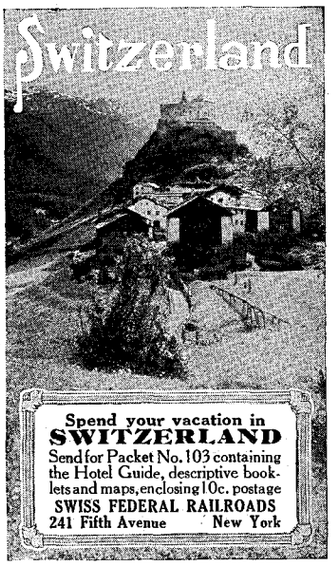

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It affords all the comforts of home without extravagance.

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WANTED—Competent teachers for public and private schools. Calls coming every day. Send for circulars. Albany Teachers' Agency, Albany, N. Y.

SITUATIONS WANTED

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GENTLEWOMAN of education and refinement wishes position as social secretary or chaperon to young girls. Interviews in New York or Philadelphia. 8,571, Outlook.

WANTED, by middle-aged woman, position as traveling companion. Best references. 8,587, Outlook.

DOMESTIC science teacher wishes position in school or first-class lunchroom, preferably in or near Baltimore. 8,588, Outlook.

REFINED Protestant wishes position: matron, assistant, or seamstress in institution, or companion-attendant to convalescent. 8,599, Outlook.

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TUTORING work for the summer wished by Princeton senior. Excellent references. 8,589, Outlook.

TEACHER (Geneva, Switzerland) wishes summer position, preferably with adults. Lessons, conversation, reading aloud. Domesticated. Desires small remuneration but pleasant home. 8,593, Outlook.

WANTED—Position as governess. College graduate, high school teacher two years, very fond of children, unmarried, excellent health. Best references. Box 397, Fort Wayne, Ind.

COLLEGE student, experienced teacher, young, capable, athletically inclined, desires position for summer. Best references. 8,591, Outlook.

COLLEGE woman will care for few children in beautiful country home. Ideal conditions for mental and physical development. $15-$20 weekly. 8,595, Outlook.

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YOUNG woman, college graduate, wants position as counselor in girls' camp. Fine instructor in athletics, especially good swimmer. Apply to "N. E.," Box 822, City Hall Station, New York.

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SUB-normal girl or young woman is offered unusual home beginning fall. Careful supervision, intelligent training, good physical care with woman of broad experience. References exchanged. 8,574, Outlook.

MASSEUSE—Swedish—would like to have room in exchange for massage. Between 40th-100th Sts., E. or W., New York City. 8,586, Outlook.

WANTED—Child to board. $10 weekly. Finest references. 8,596, Outlook.

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In Labrador a doctor's responsibility to his patient does not close even with death; "the widow and orphan in their affliction" leave him still with more than opportunity. During twenty-eight years we have tried to extend help and protection to the flotsam and jetsam of Labrador child life. A Scotchman and his wife dying left me my first problem of five bonny children. The fatal result of a gun accident found me residuary legatee for a widow and four more children. My family was again increased by a case of desertion, for the only punishment that was possible for the crime left me, as magistrate, a little girl of three. A white child from Cape Chidley, at the entrance to Hudson Bay Straits, came to me by mail, too late for packages to be returned; and so the numbers grew. The nurses at the hospital helped out, and a farmer's wife in New Hampshire relieved the pressure by taking two of the children as "all she could do in a lonely place for the Lord."

Early in this effort a wooden shack had to be erected. This was eventually doubled through the loving enthusiasm of a fellow-worker on the coast. During the years violence of storms without, meanness of material and structure with some little help from the boisterous family within, have combined to make the old building, that is now accommodating forty-three children besides the staff, untenable. The matron wrote me recently: "The windows blew in in the babies' dormitory, and all I could see of them in the morning under the snow was their hair." Ten children, relics of the terrible influenza epidemic are now being cared for outside, for lack of room.

Messrs. Delano and Aldrich have designed for us, without cost, a building that will exactly meet our needs, without waste and with good economic possibilities, its plans based on our long experience. The necessity of bathing more than one child at once in a bathtub would henceforth be unnecessary; domestic arrangements could be carried out with a fraction of the labor now expended. Cleanliness, now an impossibility with the old wooden floors and dark corners, would become a labor of joy. Discipline would be easier to maintain if the boys and girls could be in separate wings. Contagious children would no longer need to be cared for in the superintendent's bedroom. Room for manual training is to be provided, to develop the capacities that they must especially excel in if they are to succeed in the life next to nature. The hope of the outlying parts of the world is in the efficiency of the rising generation. The best outlay in the world is in human life.

The estimate for the new building when we began to raise the money was approximately $40,000. During the two years we have been raising that amount the cost of the building has doubled, therefore the sum of $40,000 is still absolutely needed to enable us to put a roof over the heads of the family. We are making an earnest effort to raise this amount before July, so that the work can be begun this summer.

Will friends of the children in Labrador help us? Checks may be sent to the Grenfell Association of America, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York.

WILFRED T. GRENFELL, M.D.

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